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PREFACE

This study is an attempt to discuss some of the problems of modern United States civil service.

Political scientists believe the outlook is for increasing government participation in private affairs. Therefore, an important issue is that of a merit system or political appointment for government employees. Many political scientists believe it is the civil service which keeps the government going in spite of political policy and elections.

Increased government participation in private affairs makes it imperative that there be an efficient and politically independent civil service. Public attitude toward the service needs to be observed. Policy formation belongs to political leaders. Administration should be non-political because government is becoming complicated and administration needs to be non-political.

These points were considered in this study of the merit system in the first two terms of Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration.

This report has been made possible through the patience and kindness of Dr. A. Bower Sageser, who has read the manuscript in its various stages of preparation. His comments and suggestions have been unfailingly helpful.

CHAPTER I

THE FIGHT FOR THE MERIT SYSTEM

The fiftieth anniversary of the United States Civil Service came in 1933, the first year of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration. Fifty years before, on January 16, 1883, President Chester A. Arthur signed the Pendleton Bill which was the first Federal Civil Service Act. The reform was forced on reluctant politicians of both parties. The measure, fathered by Senator G. H. Pendleton, Democrat of Ohio, passed by a non-partisan vote, and was signed by a Republican President.

Scandals of the spoils system, and the assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed office-seeker influenced public opinion to favor a merit system.[1]

The prevailing view in the first decades after the adoption of the Federal constitution was that civil-servants should hold office during good behavior. President Jefferson, while professing this view, nevertheless thought it expedient to remove a large number of the appointees of the previous administration under the cover of alleged misconduct in office. By 1820, party leaders in the states had learned the advantages to be gained for their organizations through control of offices. When Jackson was elected President, he followed the policy of

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[1] L. M. Hacker and L. H. Baer, New York Times, Jan. 15, 1933. A. B. Sageser, First Two Decades of the Pendleton Act (Univ. of Nebraska, 1935), 36-37.

removing a large proportion of the civil service officials and replacing them by his own supporters.[2] He justified the procedure by claiming that there was no property right in public office and that periodic change "would be promoting that rotation which constitutes a leading principle in the Republican creed, give healthful action to the system."[3] The precedent thus established was followed by Jackson's successors to the great detriment of the service.

The Pendleton Act of 1883 sought to correct some of the evils of the spoils system. Its provisions are still basic to Civil Service today. The President was to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, three commissioners, not more than two of the same party. The Commission was to aid the President, as he might request, in preparing suitable rules to carry the Act into effect. The rules were to provide for the classification of positions, open competitive examinations, the filling of posts from those graded highest, apportionment of the offices in Washington among the various states and territories on the basis of population, a period of probation before absolute appointment, the exclusion of drunkards.

The statute was to apply to the departments at Washington, to customs houses and postoffices with more than 50 employees, and to such other parts of the executive service as the Presi-

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2 World Book Encyclopedia, (Clinton, Mass. 1935), 2: 1004.
3 Hacker and Baer, op. cit., New York Times, Jan. 15, 1933.

dent in his discretion might decide, but laborers and office holders requiring Senate confirmation were to be exempted. Finally, Civil-servants were not to be solicited for contribution to party campaign chests.[4]

The merit system grew moderately under President Arthur and extensions of the classified service were made in each succeeding administration. From 1883 to the turn of the century, some 95,000 positions were placed under the merit system. From 1900 to 1932, around 372,000 positions were added. New fields covered by the classified service before 1900 were railway mail service, free-delivery post offices and most of the positions in the executive departments. Rural free delivery mail carriers, census office employees, laborers assigned to classified duties, certain deputy collectors of internal revenue, certain post office clerks, navy yard artisans, and fourth class postmasters were added before 1912. Since then, extensions of the system have continued to take place as additional governmental services were added and new positions created. However, in view of the fact that the greater part of the executive service had been classified by 1913, there remained few outstanding large groups for inclusions.

A novel extension came in the Executive Order of 1917, subsequently modified in 1921, authorizing the Postmaster General to fill first, second, and third class postmasterships

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[4] Congressional Record, 47 Cong., 2 Sess., 1498; 22 Stat. L., 403-407.

(The so-called Presidential postmasters whose appointments required Senate confirmation) from lists of candidates certified by the Civil Service Commission. The Postmaster General was to submit to the President for appointment the name of the three highest persons on each list. Between May, 1921 and June 30, 1932, there were 23,292 requests for examinations for these postal positions. On July 1, 1932, there were 15,032 Presidential postmasterships of this type.

Table 1 shows the progress of the classified service during the period, 1883 to 1932.

Table 1. Progress of civil service, 1883 to 1932.[5]

Year	No. positions in executive civil service	No. positions subject to examinations	Percent
1884	131,208	13,780	10.5
1894	180,000	45,821	25.5
1904	301,000	154,093	51.2
1914	435,000	292,460	67.2
1924	554,966	415,593	74.8
1932	578,231	467,161	80.8

Presidential diligence in beating off raids of party spoilsmen was not always equally effective in the early years of civil service reform. However, every President had made

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[5] Hacker and Baer, op. cit., New York Times, Jan. 15, 1933. United States Civil Service Commission, 51st Report, 1934, 7. Henceforth cited as U. S. C. C.

some extension to the classified system. Outspoken civil service commissioners, during the first 20 years following the passage of the Pendleton Act, helped rally public support against political forays into the merit system. This was especially true during the commissionerships of Dorman B. Eaton, Theodore Roosevelt, John T. Proctor, and William D. Foulke.[6]

The administration of civil service has been less spectacular in later years because its main problems are now of a technical nature. Recruiting, examination, and certification still go on.

The Commission's work has greatly increased in scope. In 10 years, 1923-1933, an average of 233,000 persons per year were examined and 45,000 appointments were made annually. The Commission was given general supervision over the Federal employees' retirement fund by the Act of 1920. In 1932, the economy law (Public Law 212, 72nd Cong.) (U.S.C.C., 49th Report) transferred the duties, powers, and functions of the Personnel Classification Board, set up in 1923, to the Commission.

Veterans in the Federal civil service have always presented an interesting and perplexing problem. Ever since 1865 veterans have been given preference in Federal employment if they could prove service-connected disabilities. In 1919, this preference was extended to include honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines, their widows, and wives of

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[6] D. Eaton, 1883-86; T. Roosevelt, 1889-95; J. Proctor, 1893-1903; W. D. Foulke, 1901-03.

disabled veterans not qualified to hold positions in executive civil service. Veterans providing service connected disabilities were allowed an addition of 10 points to their ratings in examinations. Five points were added to the earned examination rating of non-disabled veterans. They were also released from most age limitations and physical requirements, and along with their wives and widows given other special advantages. From 1919 to 1932, a total of 175,855 veterans received preference in appointments out of 706,511 positions filled.

Women had always been a minority in the civil service. In 1932, women in executive civil service in Washington, D. C., numbered 27,682 as compared with 41,111 men. Outside the District, women in the service totaled 59,824 as compared with 449,814 men.[7]

The only measure of progress in civil service is by comparison with previous administrations. The highlights of the Hoover administration should be noted in its connection with the merit system.

Employees in the executive civil service on June 30, 1931 numbered 616,837, an increase of 48,122 over the 1928 number. There was a reduction of 2,896 employees in the civil service in 1932 mainly for economy reasons.[8]

There were several notable events in civil service connected with the Hoover administration. Recruiting of employees

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[7] Hacker and Baer, op. cit., New York Times, Jan. 15, 1933.
[8] U.S.C.C, 49th Report, 36.
U.S.C.C. Reports, 1928, 1931, 1932.

from colleges and universities was advanced. Fingerprinting of all employees was begun. It was found in 1929 through fingerprinting that one employee out of every 13 considered had a criminal record which had been denied in the employee's application. In 1930, maximum retirement annuities were raised and certain retirement ages lowered. In the Commission itself, Commissioner William C. Deming resigned in 1930 to become a candidate for the United States Senate. President Hoover appointed Thomas H. Campbell in his place. Attorneys in the Prohibition Bureau of the Department of Justice were withdrawn from the competitive classified service in 1930. Appointments were made thereafter without examination.[9]

In 1931, President Hoover issued an order creating a Council of Personnel Administration. Its purposes were to increase efficiency in the transaction of government business, study personnel procedures, and conduct a fact-finding survey. The fact-finding survey was organized to study promotion systems, transfers, and methods of training in government service. The President also created a transfer pool in 1931. Its function was to transfer surplus classified personnel to branches of the service in which their services were most needed. This plan was utilized to help governmental departments whose work was seasonal.

The depression and unemployment of this period caused a sharp increase in the number of applications for civil service

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[9] U.S.C., 47th Report, 9.

jobs. It was in January of 1[illegible] that the American Legion suggested to the Chairman of the House Civil Service Committee that governmental employees be cut to a six hour day with six hour pay. According to the Legion, this would increase the number employed by the Federal government without increasing expenditure.[10]

An economy-minded Congress and administration passed an economy law June 30, 1932. It provided one month furloughs without pay for civil service employees. It enforced retirement, and it forced reduction of personnel in certain offices.[11]

During the years 1929 to 1932, the Commission took action in 427 instances of political activity by classified civil service employees. The commission, in 1932, sought to prohibit political activity by any organization of classified Federal employees as well as the usual prohibition of political activity by an individual employee. Controversial replies to this action by the American Federation of Labor were printed in newspapers.[12] Political activity by presidential postmasters was held to be outside the rules prohibiting political activity by classified civil service employees. On April 27, 1932, the Postmaster General issued the following order governing the conduct of presidential postmasters:

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10 New York Times, January [illegible], 1932.
11 Public Law, 212, 72nd Cong.
12 USCSC. 43th Report, 32.

> A presidential postmaster's conduct is governed by the rules and regulations of the Postmaster General... Presidential postmasters, however, do have a right to engage in political matters, so long as the required time and attention are given to postal duties. Postmasters should, however, bear in mind that a post office must not be used as political headquarters or for partisan political conferences.[13]

An important development came on December 23, 1932, when President Hoover directed the Commission to make certifications without regard to sex, unless the nature of the position required either a man or woman.[14]

Veteran preference laws and depression conditions were increasing the number of veterans in the classified service. In the fiscal year, 1924-1925, veteran appointments were 23.4 percent of the total, while in 1931-32 veteran appointments were 30.1 percent of the total. From 1919 to 1932, a total of 175,855 veterans received preference in appointments out of 706,511 positions filled.[15]

From 1928 to 1931, in the Hoover administration, there was an overall increase of 48,122 employees in the executive civil service. In 1932, the number was decreased by 8,896, mainly because of economy reasons.[16]

The year 1932 was a Presidential election year, and President Hoover's administration of the merit system drew fire

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13 USCSC, 40th Report, 33.

14 The American Alliance of Civil Service Women had been petitioning President Hoover in protest of women civil servants being subject to the "whim and prejudice of the appointing officer". New York Times, June 27, 1932. Hacker and Baer, op. cit., New York Times, Jan. 13, 1933.

15 Hacker and Baer, op. cit., New York Times, Jan. 15, 1933.

16 USCSC, Reports, 1930, 1931, 1932.

from Democratic leaders. Senator Harrison of Mississippi charged Hoover with placing government employees under civil service protection. Many of these appointments, he charged, were to top jobs in the Department of Justice and Commerce, and were to be permanent if Hoover lost the November election.[17]

Commissioner T. G. Campbell, President of the Civil Service Commission, defended the President from Senator Harrison's charges. He said that Veteran's Administration changes were "good business and good civil service administration", and that the changes in the Justice Department were "a major step in the furtherance of the merit system, and good business administration."[18] An editorial in the New York Times explained that "...if Hoover did try to extend the civil service on the eve of a political overturn, is there anything wicked about it? 'Covering in' is not an ideal way of extending the civil service, but it has been the practice of both parties since its beginning."

Several weeks before the election of 1932, Commissioner Campbell made public denial to charges that civil service officials were using their influence to prevent anti-Hoover employees from voting when they were known to be opposed to the re-election of Hoover. He said that the Commission would strive to assure votes for all, and that the President had the same view.[19] After the November elections, Senator McKellar

17 New York Times, Sept. 28, 1932.
18 New York Times, Sept. 29, 1932.
19 New York Times, Oct. 12, 1932.

of Tennessee accused Hoover of "blanketing in" a large number of government employees. McKellar said that the government civil service was at that time three-fourths Republican and less than one-fourth Democratic. He accused President Hoover of blanketing in nearly as many employees as Wilson, Harding, and Coolidge combined.[20]

In the closing year of the Hoover administration, the Civil Service Commission recommended several extensions to the competitive classified service. It recommended inclusion of first, second, and third class postmasters, of collectors and deputy collectors of internal revenue, collectors of customs, marshals and deputy marshals, attorneys of all grades, all positions in the United States Employment Service, and all positions under the government of the District of Columbia.[21] The Civil Service Commission of 1932 also recommended various improvements in pay, promotion, and retirement policies.[22]

H. E. Kaplan, Secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, agreed with the Commission's suggestions. He suggested that a beginning step toward improvement in the merit system would be inclusion of third class postmasters and collectors and deputy collectors of internal revenue. Kaplan pointed out that 135,000 federal positions with salaries of 125 million dollars were at the disposal of the victorious party in

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20 New York Times, Dec. 1, 1932.
21 Hacker and Baer, op. cit., New York Times, Jan. 15, 1933. USCSC, 49th Report.
22 New York Times, [illegible]. 11, 1932, 8.

the 1932 elections. There were, he stated, also 40 states with inadequate civil service laws.[23]

An editorial in the New York Times claimed that an honest application of the merit system would save 10 percent in state and city payrolls. It stated that the merit system was the means out of having needless positions and wasteful public spending.[24] Other observers believed that extension of the merit system was hindered by skepticism and hostility, although notable technical improvements had occurred.[25]

In their Presidential campaigns, both President Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt stated that they favored the merit system. Roosevelt stated that he would continue to uphold the merit system as he had done before when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and Governor of New York state. Hoover said his messages and statements during his Presidency were evidence of his favor towards building up that service.[26]

The United States Civil Service observed its fiftieth anniversary as the Hoover administration came to a close. The Federal Civil Service had, in 50 years, taken over 80 percent of all Federal jobs.

Dr. Leonard D. White (Professor of Public Administration, University of Chicago) observed that the United States had some

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23 New York Times, Oct. 31, 1932, 14.
24 Ibid., May 15, 1932, 20.
25 American City, Jan. 29, 1933.
26 These statements of Roosevelt and Hoover came out in answer to letters of inquiry by the National Civil Service Reform League. New York Times, Nov. 1, 1932.

of the world's best models in Federal and city civil service. There was a generally friendly attitude toward the Federal service. However, progress in states and counties had been slow. Businessmen's and taxpayer's leagues needed to know that Civil Service was elementary in the interests of economy; they had not been allied with its extension. Organized labor had been more friendly; civil service employees' organizations had been most powerful in support of the merit system. The League of Women Voters had also helped. White saw the need for the Federal government to influence state and local administration standards. With a few local exceptions, he pointed out, the American political party still finds its strength in the use of political jobs. Until American parties found support in other quarters, patronage would continue.[27]

Dr. W. E. Mosher, Professor of Political Science, Syracuse University, noted that the public service was increasingly becoming a career. Increasing activities in health, education, police, and specialization in government work were making this possible. However, the prestige of government employment was low. Too many local civil service commissions were interested mainly in "keeping the rascals, the other party, out." Improvements were needed in classification and recruiting. Local residence requirements were limiting the horizon of ambitious young civil service employees to the local scene. Veteran's Civil

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27 L. D. White, Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, [illegible], 1933, 86-90.

Service Preference Laws were proving a costly method of helping ex-soldiers. Training-in-service, and promotional opportunities needed improvement. Top civil service positions were going to politicians. Pay standards for public employment in the lower brackets compared favorably with that of private employment, but in the upper brackets pay standards were lower in public employment. Hours and vacations compared well with private employment. The seven hour day and sick leave were pretty well established. However, Mosher said that conditions in civil service were less favorable than in private employment. Trust, confidence and enthusiasm were lacking. Personnel policy and administration especially needed improvement. Mosher hoped the public would get over the idea that government was only an incidental side issue in American life.[28] This was the status of civil service when President-elect Franklin Roosevelt took office.

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[28] W. E. Mosher, Ann. Am. Acad., Sept., 1933, 130-143.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION

President Franklin D. Roosevelt had made several contacts with the merit system prior to his election in 1932. In 1907, at the age of 25, he was a member of the New York State Civil Service Reform Association. He remained a member until inaugurated President of the United States. In 1922, he wrote Harry Marsh, then Secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League: "It is time to do more than stand by; it is time for constructive action to secure improved conditions." This prefaced an ingenious proposal to put the merit system on a politically accepted foundation. He wanted to take the national civil service out of party politics, except at the policy making level.[1]

The civil service record of Governor Roosevelt was not impressive. In engineering the compromise by which politics and administration are geared together into effective policy, he sometimes disappointed the advocates of the merit system. Thus, he approved a bill giving the municipal court judges of New York City additional patronage positions, although he recognized the proposal as a "patronage grab." He vetoed a bill providing for a division of classification in the New York State Civil Service Commission, but at the same time reaffirmed his belief in the

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[1] Roosevelt to Marsh, June 19, 1922; letters in files of the National Civil Service League.

principle of job classification. The civil service record of Roosevelt as Governor was not one of retrogression, rather one that displayed less energy and creativeness than might have been expected. It was not quite such a good over-all performance as that of Cleveland, Hughes, Smith, and Lehman.

The first year of Roosevelt's first term was to prove unsuited for civil service advance. New programs, emergency action, unemployment, and partisan pressure were to discourage advances.[2]

Widespread unemployment and the political turnover in 1932 created an overwhelming demand for "the spoils of victory." A New York Times editorial[3] noted that Jim Farley, National Chairman of the Democratic Party, must place "a paltry 100,000 jobs satisfy the hunger of 28,000,000 deserving Democrats." The editorial also lamented the fact that there were still many spoils strongholds, especially in Postmasterships and Internal Revenue collector's jobs. Veteran preference rules, it observed, were still letting in less able men to office. Partisan newspapers suggested that civil service should be abolished as tending toward a dangerous bureaucracy, unresponsive to the will of the people.[4] Raymond Clapper pointed out that in Congress that year, 37 Senators and 132 Representatives had been carrying relatives at public expense.[5]

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2 L. D. White, Public Personnel Review, July, 1945, 6:139-146.
3 New York Times, Jan. 15, 1933.
4 Civil Service Journal, 1933, Jan.-Feb. 1-3.
5 Mileage allowances, franking, and expense accounts were other Congressional abuses in 1932-33, according to Clapper. Raymond Clapper, New Republic, March 8, 1933, 98-100.

Shortly after his inauguration, President Roosevelt decreed a program of economy in federal administration. The number of pensioned veterans was cut as a part of the program. This had the effect of reducing the number of persons allowed the addition of 10 points to their earned ratings in civil service examinations. Employees who had completed 30 years in the civil service were automatically retired. By June 30, 1933, less than 100 persons were serving beyond the statutory retirement age.[6] Director of the Budget L. W. Douglas was active in helping push through the economy measure.[7]

It was at this time that Democratic House leaders asked James A. Farley to recommend dismissal of 4,600 employees, "blanketed into" civil service, they said, by Republican Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. Two hundred Republicans, the leaders said, had been appointed to ride horses on the Mexican border (172 employees mounted inspector, Mexican border, Customs Service, were added by Executive Order June 21, 1932, to the classified service upon passing a character investigation).[8] Nurses in veteran's hospitals were Republican, according to the Democrats. They also wanted dismissal of married women in the government printing office and the retirement of all civil service personnel who had served 30 years.[9] President Roosevelt had judiciously picked this time to be away

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6 U.S.C.S. 50th Report, 1933, 13.
7 New York Times, April 21, 1933.
8 U.S.C.S. 50th Report, 1933, 5.
9 New York Times, June 24, 1933.

on a vacation. According to the New York Times, he had been using the promise of jobs to hold Congressmen in line with his policies. The Times said that Congressmen shouldn't be discouraged since they would get spoils in the new government emergency measure.[10]

Criticism came out against the policy of discharging government employees for economy reasons and hiring other unemployed for "made work" jobs. Salary cuts in the lower levels of civil service work were said to be working a hardship for these workers.[11]

Patronage power became vital for the success of the New Deal. The mushroom growth of new government agencies meant a parallel increase in patronage. The President's power in Congress was enhanced this way, and men sympathetic to the Administration's program could be given key positions in important agencies which were still in the experimental state.[12]

On March 24, 1933, the National Civil Service Reform League protested to President Roosevelt by telegram that the new farm relief bill failed to place its administrators under civil service.[13] An editorial on March 26[14] stated that Democrats in Congress were liberalizing the new farm bill for selection of employees not subject to civil service laws. It told of Senator Bankhead of Alabama who spoke of rewarding

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10 Ibid., June 26, 1933.
11 Nation, July 5, 1933, 6.
12 Harvey Fish, Contemporary America, New York, 1945, 442.
13 New York Times, March 24, 1933.
14 Ibid., March 26, 1933.

deserving Democrats. The editorial warned that the quickest way to ruin a government service, new or old, was to open it to the spoils men.

The National Civil Service Reform League, in its report of 1933, urged President Roosevelt to ask the heads of the new relief agencies to use the Civil Service Commission in the choice of their staffs. The same report said that President Harding's executive order for choice of Presidential postmasters was unsatisfactory. The report pointed out that selection from the three highest persons on an eligible list made their appointment purely political.[15] New Deal administrators said that putting the new emergency agencies under the merit system would slow up the program. The Civil Service Reform League denied this.[16]

By mid-summer, in 1933, the President had 81,000 jobs at his disposal, plus 35,000 to 40,000 additional emergency agency jobs. Postmaster General Farley admitted his spoils progress. However, the Democrats still did not approach the Harding spoils job.[17] Farley was opposed in his patronage distribution by Harold Ickes, Department of the Interior, and by Henry Wallace, Department of Agriculture. The President still used the promise of jobs to hold Congress in line. There were some removals from the civil service rolls which were attempts to get Republican "blanketed-men" out. However, the Republicans

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15 Ibid., June 19, 1933.
16 Nation, July 26, 1933.
17 E. A. Hallgren, Nation, Aug. 23, 1933, 200.

had done this before in 1921, and the Democrats in 1913. The Democrats of 1933 should not be indicted so much as the party system itself.[18]

Of the new emergency agencies, the Agricultural Adjustment Agency, and Tennessee Valley Authority showed the most inclination to use the recruiting services of the Civil Service Commission.[19] Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace was said to be "one of the cabinet members most in sympathy with the work of the Civil Service Commission, consistently making use of its registers for filling positions statutorily exempt."[20]

In its annual meeting that year, the National Civil Service Reform League protested the lack of civil service in newly created agencies. It specifically mentioned the agencies supervising issuance of new securities by private corporations. Federal aid agencies for unemployment relief to states, agencies for regulation of loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to home owners, agencies regulating industrial relations in the interest of facilitating interstate commerce and the cooperation of trade groups. The League also criticised the appointments of H. B. Mitchell of Montana, and Mrs. Lucille F. McMillan of Tennessee to the Civil Service Commission. Their appointments were made because of political considerations, it said, since they had no experience in personnel work. The retention of G. B. Wales on the Commission was commended.

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18 Ibid., Aug. 23, 1933, 208-210.
19 Good Government, July, Aug., Sept., 1933, 25.
20 Ibid., July, Aug., Sept., 1933, 31.

Faults of the merit system which the National Civil Service Reform League condemned were lack of a central personnel agency, promotions which were not based on fitness or merit, improper scrutiny of payrolls by the Civil Service Commission, and unsolved problems in separation and transfers. The League observed with concern the postmaster appointments since the executive order in 1921. It hoped the 840 so-called service postmasters who had been under civil service for many years would be protected. State apportionment was opposed since through it, the best men were not obtained, and Congressional politics entered into the system. The Rogers Act of 1924 was praised, since it made possible careers in Foreign Service. Twenty-nine men had risen to the rank of Minister or Ambassador since the enactment of the Rogers Act.[21]

The League, that year also criticised veteran preference in civil service. Minor ailments such as flat feet, bronchitis, rheumatism were used to get additional preference. Veterans were not always the best men obtainable for a job.[22] Disabled veterans had been getting faster appointments.[23] "Disabilities" were being used for short-cuts to promotion for inspectors, engineers, police, and many other civil service employees over better men. There were many protests when Congress gave veterans with dependents absolute preference in all jobs

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21 National Civil Service Reform League, Annual Report, 1933, 7-12.

22 Ibid., July 12, 1933, 10. (Henceforth cited as NCSR League Report).

23 There were too many instances like that of the Navy yeomen with a slight twinge in his knee who was promoted to police Captain over 200 Lieutenants by virtue of that disability. New York Times, April 4, 1933.

financed by the $3,300,000,000 Federal works program in 1933.[24]

Civil service lost one of its oldest and most prominent members September 18, 1933 when Commissioner George R. Wales died. He had been in government employ for nearly 44 years. President Wilson had appointed him as Commissioner in 1919.[25]

He was succeeded by Dr. Leonard D. White, Professor of Public Administration at Chicago University. Of this appointment, the National Civil Service Reform League said:

> President Roosevelt cannot be commended too highly for his choice of Dr. White for this important post. Dr. White is an outstanding authority in the field of public administration.[26]

As the fiscal year of 1933 drew to a close, the President requested the Postmaster General to draft a bill for presentation at the next session of Congress to provide for classification under the civil service laws of first, second, and third class postmasterships. This would be done in the interest of economy and general efficiency. The Commission stated that it had for a number of years been recommending such action by Congress. It declared that an economy could be effected by removing all consideration of party affiliation from the appointment of postmasters. Also, promotion of worthy subordinates to these higher offices would aid in the effort to make the Federal civil service more attractive as a career.

Political opponents declared the President's order on

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24 A. E. Smith, New Outlook, Nov., 1933, 11.
25 USCSC, 50th Report, 1.
26 NCSR League Report, 1931, 21.

postmasters to be only a political flourish and of no value. Some asked why the "three highest names" system wasn't satisfactory. The Civil Service League replied that more drastic means were necessary to eliminate politics. It suggested a return to the Wilson system, by executive order, whereby rural mail carriers and fourth class postmasters were chosen from the first person on the eligible list.[27]

A Presidential executive order[28] calling for Presidential postmaster examinations to fill vacancies was not noted favorably by the Civil Service Reform League. It claimed that the order made the present postmasters whose terms expired ineligible for the examination. It also permitted the Postmaster General to disqualify anyone on the eligible list for any reason.[29]

The Literary Digest saw "civil service creeping nearer the choicest branch of the political plum tree" as a result of this order. It said the newest order was not ideal, but was a decided advantage to applicants who had won a civil service rating. The order affected 1,122 first-class postmasters, 3,425 second-, 10,486 third-, and 32,672 fourth-class postmasters. The Civil Service Commission certified three names for the Postmaster General's choice. However, it was an ideal reform.[30]

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27 Nation, July 26, 1933, 88.
28 [illegible], 51st Report, July 12, 1933, 16.
29 [illegible] League Report, 1934.
30 Literary Digest, July 22, 1933.

The Commission again advocated the classification of Presidential postmasters as well as the offices of collectors of customs and internal revenue.[31]

During the early session of Congress in 1934, a number of bills were introduced to bring postmasterships at first-, second-, and third-class offices into the classified service, but they were not finally acted upon.[32] The Logan bill would have put all Federal positions under civil service except those confirmed at the time by the Senate or those the President exempted by executive order. Incumbents not under civil service would be required to pass noncompetitive tests given by the Civil Service Commission. The Ramspeck bill of March, 1935 would have the President gradually include new agencies. Present incumbents of exempt positions would be required to pass open competitive examinations to acquire classified status. There were a total of 12 bills introduced placing first-, second-, and third-class postmasters in classified service. Senator Norris of Nebraska introduced a bill which would give the Postmaster General a 10 year term and require him to operate as nearly as possible to the merit system.[33] By summer, 1935, there was still no activity on the Logan and Ramspeck bills. Senator McKellar of Tennessee was held to be at least

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31 USCSC, 52nd Report, 11.

32 In 1933, postmaster bills were introduced by Senator O'Mahoney and Representative Head of New York, Senator Vandenburg, Senator Norris, Representatives McLeod, Fletcher, Ramspeck, Carter, Koole, Stefan, Luckey, and Biederup. U Civil League Report, 1935, 15.

33 Good Government, Jan., Feb., March, 1935.

partly to blame for the inactivity.[34] Fourth-class postmasters of the "right party" were being left in temporary appointment status indefinitely. Residence qualification rules were abused. Politically active persons were getting the nod from their party chiefs for appointment. One postmaster bill, the O'Mahoney bill, was a "Trojan Horse filled with Democratic postmasters," according to Senator Arthur Vandenburg of Michigan.[35]

The O'Mahoney and LaFollette bill of June 3, 1936 was described as a "far reaching measure" by the Civil Service Reform League. It put Presidential postmasters and permanent agency men under civil service. It would create a Council of Personnel Administration. States could utilize the services of the Commission to develop their own merit systems. Incumbents in Presidential classified positions were to get civil service status by competitive examinations or by certification of satisfactory service from the head of their agency.[36]

Representative Robert Ramspeck of Georgia, Chairman of the House Civil Service Committee at the time, stated: "In most cases the mail service would be just as effective if the first- and second-class postmasters' positions were left vacant and the assistant postmasters carried on the work." The Reform League said that the 14,263 Presidential postmasters in office at the time were small in number, but great in influence, and were valueless to the postoffice. It said it believed "the Ramspeck

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34 Ibid., July, Aug., Sept., 1935.
35 Ibid., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1935.
36 The latter was disapproved by the C. S. Reform League. C.S.R. League Report, 1936.

bill now pending in Congress would go a long way toward improving the present system of postmaster appointment, even though it would perpetuate in office many incompetent, politically appointed postmasters." It urged the President to issue an executive order authorizing the Civil Service Commission to give competitive tests for selection of Presidential postmasters, and require the Postmaster General to nominate persons standing highest on resulting lists as Wilson had done. Presidential postmasters were a liability to political parties since they were a cause for disputes, it declared. It also urged an increased appropriation to the Civil Service Commission for its increased work.[37]

Good Government bulletin held an inquiry early in 1936 on party government and patronage. H. E. Kaplan, Secretary of the Civil Service Reform League, replied that public positions were the property of citizens and not of political parties. Was patronage necessary to maintain parties? Mr. Kaplan said no, patronage often leads to dissention within the party, party splits throw elections to other parties. Also, he added, Congress takes too much valuable time on patronage. Senator J. C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, told the League of Women Voters that patronage was not necessary in order for political parties to survive. He reminded them that the Democrats had survived, although they had elected only three presidents since

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[37] NCGR League Report, 1936.

the Civil War. Senator Vandenburg of Michigan agreed that political parties could survive without patronage. However, the inquiry was academic and speculative, he said, because neither of our major parties ever tried it. Former President Hoover believed patronage might be necessary to machine politics but "it is not true as to proper party government." Socialist Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee replied that their first plank was public ownership and the second most important was the merit system. Good Government concluded that the elimination of patronage would advance democracy.[38] Harry B. Mitchell, President of the Civil Service Commission, believed that Congress had not extended the merit system simply because of lack of public interest. He favored the Ramspeck civil service bill. Postmasterships under a sham merit system were discrediting the entire civil service in the eyes of the public, he said. The President could not bring new emergency agencies under civil service until Congress would so provide. The Ramspeck bill would give the President the right to bring any agency under civil service. Pushing this bill were the League of Women Voters and Federal employees. Mr. Mitchell admitted that one objection to extension of the merit system was that people appointed because of politics would stay in. But, he added, that has always been true. The good coming from extension was worth more than all objections. Appointees

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[38] Good Government, Jan., Feb., March, 1936.

would gradually be replaced by persons passing examinations.[39] Representative Robert Ramspeck asked the people to write Congress to urge passage of his bill. He stated it would not "blanket in" present postmasters. It would provide a noncompetitive examination for reappointment at the end of the postmaster's term and would be a matter for the Postmaster General's discretion. The bill was fair to the opposition party, he claimed, for two reasons. First, there were still several thousand Republican postmasters who had not been displaced. Secondly, the Democratic postmasters then in office were not blanketed into the service. If the administration would change in the 1936 election, the new Postmaster General would not be required to reappoint these men.[40]

On July 20, 1936, President Roosevelt extended the civil service by executive order. The order provided that the Postmaster General could recommend that a Postmaster vacancy be filled by the reappointment of the incumbent or by the promotion of a classified employee in the vacancy office, subject to noncompetitive examination. If the vacancy was not filled in this way the Civil Service Commission was required to hold an open competitive examination. The Postmaster General was to submit to the President for nomination to the Senate the name of the highest eligible, instead of one of the highest

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39 H. B. Mitchell, Christian Science Monitor Magazine, March 25, 1936.

40 R. Ramspeck, Ibid., April 15, 1936.

three eligibles, as we had formerly.[41]

Literary Digest said Republican comment on the action was that Roosevelt had extended the civil service to soften attacks on Farley. Press comment all favored the extension but differed as to the President's motives.[42]

The National Civil Service Reform League commended the President for his executive order. It declared that President Roosevelt had "...gone further than any of his predecessors in placing postmasters under the merit system."[43] The President's order returned 13,730 first-, second-, and third-class postmasters to the Commission's regulation. Governor Alf Landon of Kansas, Republican nominee for the Presidency, said "I'm glad to see the President do it. It shows the advantages of competition." In retort the Democrats pointed out that Landon had done nothing to put into effect the civil service law dormant on Kansas statute books since 1915.[44]

Congressional sentiment on the Ramspeck Postmaster bill[45] varied from approval to disapproval because of its "futility, didn't go far enough, pure political camouflage, adroitly formed for campaign effect." The Congress wanted popular election of postmasters. The Civil Service Reform League believed that "covering in" was the price which had always to be paid for extension of the merit system.[46] New Republic re-

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41 USCSC, 53rd Report.
42 Literary Digest, Aug. 1, 1936.
43 Good Government, July, Aug., Sept., 1936.
44 Newsweek, August 1, 1936.
45 As seen by Good Government Bulletin.
46 Good Government, April, May, June, 1936.

minded its readers that examinations for postmasters did not start with Franklin Roosevelt, but rather in 1917 under Wilson. Harding had emasculated that system.[47]

Early in 1936, Senator Vandenburg of Michigan registered his disillusionment with the public service. He believed there had never been such political pollution of the public service as existed that year. He admitted that was saying a good deal, since Republican administrations "have been no lilies." Vandenburg believed one of the things people were going to revolt against in the 1936 election was the terrific cost of the spoils system. He wanted a career service for post offices; "I'd call that social legislation",[48] he said.

The Republican party in 1936 was pledged to the merit system. J. D. M. Hamilton, National Chairman of the Republican party, declared that Landon would put the whole post office department on a civil service basis, including the Postmaster General. Mr. Landon, he said, would not abandon all "emergency" agencies at one "full swoop", but would consolidate useful activities and services where possible. He would preserve agencies which plainly filled a public need. In Kansas, Hamilton claimed, state employees had a chance to make public service a career. Governor Landon was also quoted as favoring government service as a career service for young people.[49]

After the 1936 elections and Roosevelt's victory, Repub-

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47 New Republic, July 1, 1936.
48 New York Times, Feb. 2, 1936.
49 J. D. M. Hamilton, Review of Reviews, Oct., 1936.

licans still objected to [illegible]-week bill. Their contention was that it would make "covering in" of Democrats possible. Good Government bulletin commented that this would be the price under any administration, and had always been the price for extension of civil service. [illegible]. White, member of the Commission, made a partial answer to the argument in an address on civil service week, January 1937. He denied that placing an employee under civil service made it more difficult to discharge him. He said it was easier to separate an employee from a civil service job than a political appointee from a political system.[50]

The same month, Mrs. C. Bellhorn, Chairman of the National League of Women Voters, initiated a campaign for trained personnel in public service. The campaign was organized because it seemed apparent that incompetent administration could jeopardize welfare services, labor laws, and protection of consumer interest. The general public, it was noted, seemed resigned to the spoils system. At a National League of Women Voters' dinner that month, Senator Vandenburg of Michigan said: "Political parties which cannot survive without patronage only deserve to die." Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming said that the merit system was not only the best manner in which to secure efficiency in government, but also the easiest way to escape the importunities of the undeserving and unfit. As part of its campaign the League circulated a quarter million cards petitioning political parties to replace patronage with the

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[50] Good Government, Jan., Feb., 1937.

merit system in all units of government. It believed a change in public opinion was needed to bring more trained personnel into public service.[51]

As President Roosevelt neared the beginning of his second term of office,[52] he wrote to Congress:

> Now that we are out of the trough of the Depression, the time has come to set our house in order. The administrative management of the government needs overhauling.

He appointed Louis Brownlow, C. E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, and L. H. Gulick of the University of Columbia to a Committee on Administrative Management. The Committee's purpose was to plan for reorganization of Presidential administration. In the words of the President, they were to plan for the extension of the merit system "upward, outward, and downward to include all positions in the executive branch of the Government, except those which are policy-determining in character."

The New Deal brought a mushroom growth of new government agencies. It was to mean, for at least several years, a parallel increase in patronage.[53] Exemption of emergency agencies from the civil service act and rules continued on into 1934. Between June 30, 1932 and June 30, 1934, the ratio of increase of exempt to competitive positions was eighteen to one. Of 60 recovery agencies, five were made partially or wholly subject to the civil service act and rules.[54]

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51 Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, January, 1937.
52 January, 1937.
53 Harvey Fish, Contemporary America (New York, 1945), 442.
54 Good Government, May, June, 1945.

On June 30, 1932, there were 578,231 employees in the entire federal executive civil service. Of these, 467,161 were in positions subject to competitive examination under the civil service law and rules, and 111,070 were in positions outside the competitive classified service.

On June 30, 1933, the entire number of employees had fallen to 565,432. Of these, 456,096 were under the civil service law and rules, and 109,336 were outside the competitive classified service.

On June 30, 1934, the entire number of employees was 661,094. Of these, 461,587 were under the civil service law and rules, and 199,507 were outside the competitive classified service.

The increase in a single year of more than 90,000 positions to which the competitive examination system did not apply was due to the creation, principally by law, of new governmental agencies which were specifically exempted from the provisions of the civil service law and rules because of their emergency or temporary character. The Civil Service Commission recommended that these agencies be brought within the scope of the civil service law. It said it believed the competitive system to be the best method of public employment in this or any country. In its yearly report, the Commission said of the merit system "It is democratic and American, is based upon merit alone and offers a fair field and no favor." It showed in its yearly report that the competitive classified service, contrary

to many charges, had not been lessened since March 4, 1933, but rather had been increased.[55]

In its annual meeting in 1934, the Civil Service Reform League cited the President in his letter to the League in August, 1933. The President had written:

> The merit system is in no danger at my hands; but on the contrary, I hope it will be extended and improved during my term as president.

The League concluded that recent actions of the President encouraged a belief that the President had the merit system at heart. In the same meeting, Senator Norris of Nebraska was commended for his battle to keep partisan considerations out of appointments to the Home Owner's Loan Corporation. Decreased public income was making the public more aware of the expense of patronage and the need for a merit system, the League thought. Growing complexity of government was making bureaucracy inevitable, therefore, there was greater need for civil service extension. The League publicized the comment of Representative Hamilton Fish of New York on the floor of the House when he announced that as a general proposition he believed in the spoils system. It pointed out that on the Republican side in 1934, as on the Democratic side prior to 1933, a vote for the merit system could be attributed to the desire of the "outs" to embarrass the "ins". It disapproved of the Senate-passed bill providing for all positions in Federal Civil Service with salaries of $5,000 and over to be filled only by the

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[55] L. of C., 51st Report, 1-2.

President after Senate confirmation. In his losing battle to keep the Home Owner's Loan Corporation under civil service, Senator Norris was supported by the President, and Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency Fahey. The Civil Service Reform League believed other emergency organizations would meet the same civil service fate as H. O. L. C., "...were it not for such Cabinet officials as Secretary Ickes, Wallace and Perkins who have sought to maintain the merit system in their departments."[56]

Steady pressure came from Congress in its quest for spoils. Representative Blanton of Texas stated: "Personally, I believe in the old slogan 'To the victor belong the spoils'. I wish this were in force in Washington and in the United States today."[57] A. E. Morgan,[58] head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, kept his appointments on a merit basis. He said the cause of much perfunctoriness in civil service was the fact that often abler men left the service and less vigorous and less creative-minded persons remained. He believed periodic appraisals and ratings on quality of service would improve the situation. Good Government complained early in 1934 that the bill in the Senate requiring Congressional approval of civil service extension was threatening the merit system. It claimed that such an act would make extension of civil service in the

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56 [illegible] League Report, 1934.
57 Good Government, Jan., Feb., March, 1934.
58 President of Antioch College.

Federal government practically impossible. In the 51 years of civil service up to that time, only 5000 positions had been included by Congress. Extension since 1883 had come mainly from Presidential executive orders.[59] The only hope for civil service extension seemed to lie in the President and not in Congress.[60]

In the summer of 1934, Raymond Clapper announced that the New Dealers were touring the country, selling the New Deal. He complained of personnel in the new agencies being hired outside civil service. In view of it all, he thought, the Republican outlook in November was discouraging.[61]

H. Brayman, of the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger, observed in Current History that:

> Never in the history of the United States has a national administration been subjected to so much pressure for government jobs by party workers and voting supporters as that which has been exerted since President Roosevelt began his term of office.

Postmaster General Farley had been the buffer between the President and the job-hunting horde. Genial Jim's job was to refuse jobs. More or less resistance to political appointees had been encountered from Frances Perkins, Henry Wallace, Hugh Johnson, Harry Hopkins, Eastman (Railroad Coordinator) and Kennedy (Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission). President Roosevelt ordered in 1934 that civil service employees dropped in the economy wave of April and May, 1933 be

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59 Arthur 1400, Cleveland 49,000, Harrison 8600, Roosevelt 33,000, Taft 56,000, Wilson 1000, Coolidge 4700, Hoover 2600.

60 Good Government, Jan., Feb., March, 1934.

61 R. Clapper, Review of Reviews, Aug., 1934.

given preference in filling similar positions in new emergency agencies. The 4600 Republicans "covered in" by President Hoover without examinations were not to be given preference. Brayman observed:

> Hundreds of political appointments have been made to responsible posts, but the administration has shown an unusual alacrity in easing out anyone who has failed to come up to the standards which have been set.

Local political appointments had been bad, but he thought "the degree of devotion to public service in the Roosevelt administration is probably somewhat higher than average."[62]

Good Government thought that Roosevelt believed in civil service, but had bowed to job hungry party friends. In the fall campaign of 1934, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau forbade subordinates to make political contributions or to solicit funds for their party. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace ordered a circular sent out stating that no government employee was under obligation to give political service or contributions.[63]

Early in 1935, Good Government found the four billion dollar work relief bill a new source of worry. Patronage was threatening the bill. There was evidence that the Civilian Conservation Corps was going to provide patronage.[64] The

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62 H. Brayman, Current History, Oct., 1934.
63 Good Government, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1934.
64 The Washington Post was quoted: it said Speaker Byrns told a Democratic patronage caucus that 10,000 jobs of camp foreman and superintendent at $110 to $200 per month were available in the CCC. Ibid., Jan., Feb., March, 1935.

National Civil Service League urged the President to use existing civil service eligible registers in making appointments of employees to administer the work relief fund. Mr. Roosevelt replied that he had instructed the Civil Service Commission to prepare an amendment to the bill appropriating this fund, to bring about the result recommended. However, the bill was finally adopted without the amendment.[65]

In its report of 1935, the Civil Service League complained of the great number of Federal employees in new agencies outside the merit system. It upheld British civil service and that of the old German Empire for examples of better administration. Public opinion was the force needed to back a drive against patronage, it believed.[66]

The League also noted that:

> While, however, there is little doubt that Mr. Roosevelt personally believes in non-partisan permanent civil service, and leans in that direction for practical reasons he has compromised with patronage hunters when that seemed politically expedient.

It is believed that the public was awakening to the costliness of neglecting to award jobs on the basis of merit.[67]

The Nation believed Roosevelt had drawn fine quality men into public service, but that he had "for practical reasons" compromised with patronage hunters.[68]

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65 Ibid., May, June, 1945.

66 USCSR League Report, 1935, 1-3.

67 New York Times, May 16, 1935.

68 O. G. Villard, Nation, June 26, 1935.

In August, 1935, a bill was introduced by Representative John Hoeppel, Democrat of California, proposing an amendment to the Constitution for appointment and promotion of Federal employees according to merit and fitness. The bill did not pass.[69] Protests came out in opposition to the term "experts" who were exempt from civil service rules in the Social Security and Labor Relations Bills and the Public Utility Act. Many critics thought the term "experts" was too loosely applied by employment agencies.[70] New Republic believed the President was under pressure from politicians, lame-duck Congressmen, and Wall Street, in his selection of men to man the new regulatory agencies. An informed public opinion was needed to support the President, it concluded.[71]

A bright spot in the years of merit system relapse was the organization of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the invention of new patterns of personnel work for it. The T. V. A. act excluded the authority of the Civil Service Commission, but directed that in making appointments and promotions "no political test or qualification shall be permitted or given consideration, but all such appointments and promotions shall be given and made on the basis of merit and efficiency." Public skepticism of the value of the declaration was shared by at least one important member of the Senate. A powerful attempt was made to assimilate T. V. A. patronage to that of the Senators of the

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69 Good Government, July, August, Sept., 1935.
70 Ibid., July, August, Sept., 1935.
71 New Republic, Nov., 6, 1936.

states touched by T. V. A., mainly Tennessee. The personnel director of T. V. A. and the board of directors opposed this move. Back of them, the President supported the T. V. A. in its refusal to compromise with patronage seekers. Even when patronage was the order of the day in Washington, it was rigorously denied in Knoxville. The President's stand on T. V. A. was symbolic of his later contribution to the civil service system.[72]

Atlantic Monthly[73] published an article on "our new spoils system." It said the protests of the defenders of the merit system were "Spoils! Spoils!" and the answer of Postmaster General Farley were "Emergency! Emergency!" Fears were expressed that Farley's new spoils system was threatening to undermine the merit system. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi was said to have held a six thousand dollar press clipping bureau job between the time of his Governorship and election to the Senate. Senator McKellar, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, was said to have had his brother appointed postmaster of Memphis.

Charges were numerous in 1936 that patronage was being used to help insure a Democratic victory in the fall elections. Time magazine featured an article describing an Emil Hurja, was the alleged statistician of the Democratic party. In 1932, his only error had been in predicting Pennsylvania would vote

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72 L. D. White, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Public Service, Public Personnel Review, July, 1945, 6,139-146. See note 2, Chapter 2

73 L. Sullivan, Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1936.

for Roosevelt. In 1936, he predicted the West and South would go Democratic, and anything in the East was not needed, but would only add to the majority. His job, according to Time was to decide who and what needed patronage.[74] The Republicans, that year, predicted a close election with the deciding votes in the middle western states.

In 1936, there was a continued demand for extension of the merit system. Senator Byrd of Virginia saw bureaucracy a danger to democracy and proposed a housecleaning.[75] A poll by the Institute of Public Opinion showed that 90 percent of the voters of the country favored the merit system over the spoils system.[76] The Civil Service League that year protested the continuance of "emergency" agency exemptions. Government office-holders were taking four billion in taxes and one job in ten. The New York Times believed that the "emergency" was no longer in the field of economics, but in the field of administration. It saw the need for civil service extension.[77] Dr. H. W. Dodds, President of Princeton, in a speech at the University of Virginia[78], stated that America's great contribution to history was its defiance of inherited class privileges in government and its acceptance of the democratic principle. However, its ideology had imposed heavier burdens on the electorate than they could bear. Popular government was meeting a tremendous problem in the modern environment. H. L. Mencken was right when he said: "Men love liberty, but they love their

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74 Time, March 2, 1936.
75 A. Shaw, Review of Reviews, April, 1936.
76 [illegible] League Report, 1936, 1-8.
77 New York Times, May 11, 1936.
78 Dr. H. W. Dodds, Good Government, April, May, June, 1936.

ham and cabbage more." From the political scientist's viewpoint, Dodds declared the governmental field was widening, and its feature was the growth of the administrative arm. Three million employees were employed in the administration of Federal, state, and local government. The great question, as he saw it, was whether expert administration was impossible without bureaucracy. He thought the public was adhering too much to the Jacksonian doctrine, paraphrased by J. Stuart Mill, that any man not fit to be hanged was fit for any office he could get. Dodds believed the "brain trust" lacked necessary public experience. He saw a need for experts in government, and a need to attract good men into government work. An interesting series of charges and counter charges relative to the merit system came out in New Republic that year. H. O'Rourke defended New Deal administrative policies.[79] He denied the charges that a half century of civil service gains had been wiped out. The appointment of a man the calibre of L. D. White of the University of Chicago to the Commission did not bear up that charge. The Civil Service Commission, he said, was found inadequate to hire new members in time for the emergency programs. Still, ward heelers had not been hired by New Deal administrators. He pointed out that many important agencies such as Agriculture, Communications, Labor, and Security had been placed under civil service. Congress had less influence on jobs than ever before in history. Scientific and technical bureau personnel were not changed. At least two-

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[79] H. O'Rourke, New Republic, May 27, 1936.

thirds of the New Deal non-civil service appointments were filled by personal acquaintanceships rather than by political consideration.

H. L. Kaplan, Secretary of the Civil Service Reform League[80] replied that it was still true that the "major fraction" of new workers were not under civil service classification. However, it was also true that scientific services weren't demoralized. He added that the "Federal civil service has probably not been so badly manhandled as some too ardent Republicans charge; but neither is the situation so reassuring as O'Rourke would have us believe." O'Rourke replied with a rejoinder in which he admitted spoils were still rampant in civil service. However, contrary to Kaplan's charges, the new agencies did have a "major fraction" of their men under civil service.[81] Time magazine added its voice to the controversy by declaring that the New Deal had virtually wrecked the civil service system. Roosevelt, Farley and Company, it said, had made 150,000 straight political appointments.[82] American City found civil service increasing on every front - local, state and Federal. Two-thirds of the Rural Electrification Administration and future appointments to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and Home Owners' Loan Corporation were coming under civil service, it said.[83] Both the Republican and Democratic parties

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80 H. L. Kaplan, New Republic, July 1, 1936.
81 Time, July 27, 1936.
82 Ibid., July 27, 1936.
83 American City, October, 1936.

included protection and extension of the civil service system in their 1936 platforms. Governor Landon's historic telegram to the Republican nominating convention contained his pledge to improve and extend civil service.[84]

The proposed civil service amendment to the constitution was gaining attention in the latter part of 1936. Many congressmen, administrators, editors, and political scientists favored such a move. Its main value, most observers believed, would be that it would prevent patronage riders on important bills which the President could not veto. Also, Congressional and Presidential orders could not restrict civil service so easily. Most editorial comment on the proposal was favorable. The New York Times and Emporia, Kansas Gazette, among other papers favored it. Hearst papers opposed the amendment saying it would "cheapen the constitution." The St. Louis Post Dispatch opposed the amendment, it said Congress already controlled civil service, and could extend it by its own action. The Washington Post and Star said defeat of the spoils system would have to come from public opinion, and not from an amendment. Dr. John T. Doyle of the Civil Service Commission staff believed public opinion was no guide since Congress disregarded that every time it passed a bill with a rider.[85] Literary Digest saw a Constitutional amendment bringing classification to 98 percent of all Federal employees. It thought such an amendment would introduce the admired English career service in

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84 Good Government, July, Aug., Sept., 1936.
85 Ibid., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1936.

the United States. Political parties, it pointed out, existed in England without patronage. Herbert Hoover had stated, "Patronage has liabilities."[86] Senator Norris of Nebraska had declared "When a political party has nothing to keep it together except holding office, the elements of death are already upon it." President Roosevelt promised that the merit system "is in no danger at my hands. I am convinced that the great majority of voters of all parties would oppose a return to the spoils system."[87]

The Commission asked for a broad extension of the merit system in 1936. It said:

> Present trends in government as applied to the social structure of the United States emphasizes anew the basic importance of the extension of the merit system. Originally proposed chiefly to protect democracy as a form of government against the influence of patronage, and later recognized as improving the efficiency of administration, the merit system has become essential to the program of social security to which the National Government is committed in cooperation with the States.[88]

F. H. Kent, in American Magazine, saw the need for two reforms. He wanted permanent extension of civil service and abolition of a second term for Presidents. These reforms, he believed, would make non-participating Federal machines, and non-political Presidents. A six year presidential term, he thought, would make the Presidency less political.[89]

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86 Literary Digest, November 28, 1936.
87 Ibid., November 28, 1936.
88 USCSC, 53rd Report, 3.
89 F. H. Kent, Roosevelt's Big Chance, American Magazine, March, 1937, 61.

As the first term of President Roosevelt neared its close, the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science discussed the problems and progress of the merit system. [illegible] Montgomery, Philadelphia lawyer and member of the Pennsylvania Civil Service Association, stated that the outlook was for increasing government participation in private affairs. Civil service kept the government going in spite of political policy and elections. There were two great needs in civil service. First, parity in politics was needed, second, a career service was needed with assurance of tenure and above all, he said, increased government activity made the merit system imperative.[90]

When Congress convened in January, 1937, the President recommended that it extend the civil service. Robert I. Johnson, President of the National Civil Service Reform League at that time, then stated in a letter to Roosevelt:

> The National Civil Service Reform League is gratified to read your message to the Congress recommending .....extension of the merit system throughout the Federal civil service..... We hope that the Congress may carry out your recommendations for making the United States civil service worthy of our democratic form of government.[91]

The administration of civil service personnel has always presented an interesting and difficult problem. During the period of expansion under the New Deal, personnel problems were increased.

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90 Ann. Am. Acad. Polit. Science, Jan., 1937.
91 Civil Government, Jan., Feb., 1937.

The definition of the term "expert" was under debate in 1934, since "such experts as may be necessary" were excepted from civil service laws in the Department of Agriculture and the Securities and Exchange Commission.[92] The Civil Service Reform League and the Commission had been recommending a change for several years.[93]

H. H. Kaplan, Secretary of the Civil Service Reform League, noted that in expanded government activity it is important that there be trained, experienced and qualified persons. In discussing the personnel situation, he urged the use of personnel agencies. They needed to be non-partisan and interested in extending civil service. Many personnel agencies and local civil service commissions, he found, were a cloak for political organizations. Improvements were needed in: tests, promotions, equality of pay for equal work, placing of qualified persons in key positions, protection of competent employees from unjust dismissal, changes of veteran preference laws, undue restrictions on removals, and exceptions from competitive tests. A good personnel system, he believed, should have a central personnel agency, classification of all employees for uniform titles and pay, a comprehensive compensation plan, tests for employees' entrance and promotion, control over payrolls, plan and procedure for handling personnel problems among employees within the service and their separation from

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92 U.S.C.S.C., 51st Report, 21.
93 N.C.S.R. League Report, 1934. 1-5.

the service, power of investigation by the personnel agency, of the administrator of the system, and prohibition of undue political activity. Mr. Kaplan wanted the personnel agency to assume a more important role in public administration. He concluded by saying: "If we are actually headed toward bureaucracy, then we must make it highly efficient or else democracy will fail to fulfill its great hopes."[94]

E. E. Berchtold, in New Outlook, discussed the New Deal's personnel problem. He criticized the use of Brain Trust Professors for administrators. On the other hand, he believed men with the Big Business viewpoint were not desired either. He upheld the British civil service system where a corps of 1500 to 2000 men and women university graduates ran the British government as a life work. Advancement in British civil service was possible up to, but not including the rank of Minister. Some experimentation had begun in 1934 in Universities of United States on training for government administration. Berchtold believed that most New Deal "emergency" measures would become permanent. He noted an increasing trend of people leaving government employment. Farley and Congress, he predicted, would oppose extension of civil service. Of Mr. Farley, he said, "It may be Mr. Farley's countenance which will turn up on the Joker in the New Deal."[95]

President Roosevelt was also aware of the problems of personnel management in the civil service. In a half hour

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94 H. E. Kaplan, Good Government, April, May, June, 1934.
95 E. E. Berchtold, "New Deal Personnel Problem", New Outlook, August, 1934.

conversation with L. D. White, member of the Civil Service Commission, he dwelt upon the integrity of the British civil service and also upon its class structure and rigidity. He wanted, he said, an American civil service as competent and trustworthy as the British, but with more imagination, more flexibility, and more responsiveness to public opinion. He favored a career service.

The President had traveled in France, Germany and England and was acquainted with civil service in those countries. His World War I job as Assistant Secretary of the Navy had helped inform him on civil service matters.

In general, White said, the President wanted a democratic system and one that had no barriers to recognition of men and women of capacity. He wanted a system which would eliminate deadwood automatically and was aware that mere time passage was the basis of civil service promotion. He suggested the use of the United States Navy "plucking system." Dr. White concluded that no other American President had been more familiar with other great public services than Mr. Roosevelt.[96]

In the latter part of 1934, the President and Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones supported the plan of the National Institute of Public Affairs to choose 150 students from universities for a two months' scholarship in Washington, D. C.

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[96] In the Navy, a naval officer three times passed over for promotion is retired automatically. "L. D. White, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Public Service", Public Personnel Review, July, 1945.

The students were to study government administration, spending half their time on actual government jobs, and the rest of the time taking courses in government and related subjects.[97]

By mid-year, 1935, civilian personnel of the executive branch of the Government numbered 719,440. This was an increase of seven percent during the preceding fiscal year.[98]

The Civil Service Reform League that year protested the continuance of the Veteran Preference system. It was depriving the civil service of the best men, it said, and many departments were manned only by disabled veterans.[99]

Survey found many faults in the country's merit system that year. It pointed out that the spoils system, the use of the public payroll for charity and the failure to adjust our ideas, our governmental institutions, and our public personnel policies to the social and economic changes since the Civil War were primarily responsible for conditions in the public service. A career system was needed. There would be many difficulties to be encountered in establishing a career service. It would take spoils away from political parties. A substitute means of aiding the poor, the veterans, and the aged would have to be established. The idea of "hometown boys for hometown jobs" would have to cease. The doctrine of rotation in office would have to end.[100]

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97 Good Government, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1934.
98 [illegible], 53rd Report, 2.
99 [illegible] League Report, 1935. 1-7.
100 L. Gulick, "Uncle Sam's Service", Survey, Feb., 1935.

In March, 1936, it was noted that retirement pay was 75 percent of the maximum basic salary for a 30 year employee. The maximum pension allowed was 1200 dollars. On June 30, 1934, there were 44,807 retired government civil employees on pension.[101] Monthly Labor Review observed that there were more annuitants added to the roll of the Federal civil service retirement and disability fund in 1933-34 than in the entire six years July 1, 1922 to June 30, 1928. There were several reasons for this increase, among which were age, disability, voluntary separation after 30 years' service, and mainly, involuntary separation after 30 years' service. Males made up 91.2 percent of the total number. Females retired for disability made up 42.8 percent of their total. Only 17.8 percent of the males were retired for disability. The average annuity in 1933 was $965.16. In 1934, it was $989.39. The 30-year Involuntary Retirement Act had become effective June 16, 1933.[102]

Annals of the American Academy of Political Science gave space to civil service personnel problems in the summer of 1935. An article by Dr. E. D. Draper, Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, pointed out fundamental fallacies which were sometimes accepted relative to public employment. They were: that an administration should go out with the election of a new party, that political parties need

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101 Comm. Digest, March, 1935, 73.
102 Monthly Labor Review. April, 1935, 847.

patronage, that trained government servants are dangerous to liberties, that local residents are always entitled to jobs, and that government service is necessarily less efficient than private enterprise. He believed in centralized administration of the merit system. Advantages of centralized administration were: it was more economical; separate units keeping personnel agencies were impractical; there was opportunity for higher specialization in centralization; it would bring more uniform personnel practices. Localism was the biggest factor opposing centralization. Graper wanted the Personnel Bureau to deal with recruitment, promotions, and removals. He believed the administrative class should have been included within the career service to give more promise to young civil service people. Also, executives should not be restricted on removals.[103]

Dr. J. K. Pollock[104] discussed election and appointment of public officials. He declared that if neither control nor efficiency were being achieved by the electoral process, then the democratic system was becoming a delusion. There were too many elective offices; the voter was overburdened by the long ballot and complex government. Guiding principles for elections should be: few elected officials, and making elective offices only those which attracted public attention. He quoted Stanley Baldwin, British Conservative party leader, who said, "Administration is the essence of government and its quality a prime condition of civic comfort." A short ballot would increase

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103 E. D. Graper, "Public Employees and the Merit System", Ann. Am. Acad. Polit. Science, Sept. 1935. (Hencefort, cited as Ann. Am. Acad.)

104 Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan.

the voter's qualification. It would make elections more important and interesting. Voters themselves would control their government. Election costs would be reduced. An objection to the short ballot came from the fear of concentration of power, but, Dr. Pollock said, there was more danger in long ballots with unknown candidates. It was as Woodrow Wilson had said: government must be taken away from the "machine" and put back into the hands of the people.[105]

In 1936, W. E. Mosher and J. D. Kingsley finished their book on "Public Personnel Administration". It discussed the major weaknesses of the merit system. Weaknesses in personnel administration were: inadequate financing of personnel agencies, inadequate examining technique in research, inadequate training and supervision of personnel after appointment, inadequate promotion and pension plans. Public opinion, it said, was needed to force this program in and politics out.[106]

In 1937, President Roosevelt submitted a message to Congress transmitting the report of his Committee on Administrative Management, and recommending extension of the merit system "upward, outward, and downward".[107] The Committee on Administrative Management had been created in May, 1936. L. B. Brownlow, C. E. Merriam, and Luther Gulick had taken up the task of improving the Federal service. Their report was startling, but secured the instant approval of the President.

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105 J. K. Pollock, "Election or Appointment of Public Officials", Ann. Am. Acad. Sept., 1935, 74-79.

106 Reviewed by Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., C. S. Commissioner in 1937, Good Government, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1936.

107 Ibid., May, June, 1945.

According to their plan, the Civil Service Commission was to go in favor of a single civil service administrator. The single administrator was to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and was to be removable by the President at will. A "Civil Service Board" of seven members was also to be created. It had no responsibility or administrative powers other than "protection and development of the merit system".[108] The personnel responsibilities of the departments were to be expanded and modernized; a new Council of Personnel Administration was to serve for exchange of ideas and experience. Top salaries for career men would be $1200 to $1500. The merit system was to be extended upward, outward, and downward and include all but a few policy determining positions.

The report, when issued, became a center of criticism similar to the Supreme Court enlarging bill. A famous feminine columnist[109] reported that it would be similar to a dictatorship of the proletariat. The campaign of demogoguery had initial success. The single civil service administrator was finally rejected, although in 1931 Hoover had recommended it.[110]

The Civil Service Reform League reported a renewed hope for revitalization of Federal civil service by Roosevelt's message to Congress for extension of the merit system. It

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108 Ibid., January, February, 1937.
109 According to Dr. L. D. White.
110 White, Public Personnel Review, July, 1945.

agreed with the President's Commission of Administrative Management statement that "personnel administration lies at the very core of administrative management". It believed that centralisation of responsibility into a single administrator selected by the merit system would bring more decisive administrative action than the three-member, bi-partisan Civil Service Commission. It wanted rule making, interpretation and review to remain in a deliberative three-man board. Most excepted positions, it pointed out, came from Congressional, instead of executive action. The Congress of that time had excepted 325,000 positions. The League stated that its approval of the single administrator proposal did not indicate dissatisfaction with the present Civil Service Commission. Its performance had been satisfactory. Government jobs, it said, had become too complex for political satellites. There could be no career system until politics was taken out. Not every civil service law devised by political spell-binders was a merit system, and even a good law needed good administration to work out.[111]

Resolutions adopted at the Civil Service Reform League meeting stated its objectives. It commended the policy of organised employees in recognising their obligation not to strike against the government, or in sympathy with other strikes. It disfavored political coercion of postmasters. Congress was called upon to put Presidential postmasters under

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[111] NCSR League Report, 1937, 1-9.

civil service law and rules, and abolish the method of examination "which throws discredit upon all other examinations and practices of the United States Civil Service Commission".[112]

Robert L. Johnson, President of the Civil Service Reform League, wrote President Roosevelt that he hoped Congress would carry out the suggestions of the President's Commission on Administrative Management. He said, "We are glad that many of the League's recommendations for the improvement of the Federal personnel system are embodied in the report of your committee". He believed the public would support the program.[113]

In January, 1937, Review of Reviews[114] discussed the League's proposed amendment that all appointments and promotions in civil service in the United States be made according to merit and fitness "to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive." The phrase "so far as practicable", according to the article, would allow Congress to set all civil service examinations aside. It also commended the Civil Service Reform League's publicity work. Hope was expressed that Congressmen would learn that with one job and ten applicants they reaped nine enemies and one ingrate.[115]

Good Government described the President's request to Congress for civil service extension, "upward, outward, and down-

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112 CSRR League Report, 1937.
113 New York Times, Jan. 17, 1937.
114 Review of Reviews, Jan. 1937.
115 From editorial in American Magazine, Review of Reviews, Jan. 1937.

ward," as being a proposal as far reaching as any President had made. There were, it said, [illegible],000 federal employees in 1937, and no more than 1200 "policy determining" positions.[116]

Time magazine believed that the President was losing good administrators from the New Deal because there was more money, security and promotional opportunity in outside work. It concluded that: "Many a friend of the New Deal has agreed with its enemies that, however noble its purpose, its performance has often been sloppy".[117]

In January, 1937, when the President's administrative reorganization plan was causing much discussion, Annals of the American Academy of Political Science devoted an issue of its magazine to the problem of civil service reform. Dr. H. W. Dodds, President of Princeton University, was one of its contributors. He noted that "bureaucracy" in government was receiving criticism from Senator William E. Borah, John W. Davis, and Alfred Smith. The bureaucracy of today, he said, was becoming made up of specially-trained career men. Prussian civil service up to 1918 was efficient and free of patronage. With the German post-war parliament came scandals. It was American tradition to distrust the "expert", and like Andrew Jackson, put anyone into public office. Putting business men into office had proved a failure, because a public official is subject to popular opinion, and is expected to treat every

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116 Good Government, Jan., Feb., March, 1937.
117 Time, Jan. 25, 1937.

one alike. Weaknesses of a bureaucracy were the routine, the red tape; a tendency to gather power. Congress was not equipped to watch a vast administration, and better relations between Congress and administration were needed. Government posts were unattractive to many young people because of low prestige, insecurity of tenure, and poor pay. Dr. Dodds concluded that better recruitment and promotion systems were needed. Closer relations should have been established with colleges, there was a need for more experts in government.[113]

William Turn, a political boss, had a different view on the merit system. Thirty years of practical political experience, he said, had taught him that the true cause for the spoils system was the triumph of democracy. Party workers were needed to get the vote out. Practical things learned in a political set-up were more important than training in schools. Party organizations and their officers were closer to the people. After all, patronage had started with George Washington. A civil service employee, he observed, was "a pale, quiet, individual, faithful in a dim sort of way, disinclined to originality, but capable within a limited field of an insolence that makes one wonder why it is called "civil". The chief advantage of civil service, as he saw it, was that "it offers regular, light, employment at a moderate remuneration," but, he added, "men and women who stay in one place too long get in a rut". Welfare work was better handled by a party organi-

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113 W. W. Dodds, "Bureaucracy and Representative Government", Ann. Am. Acad., Jan. 1937, 165-172.

zation. He saw a really dangerous alternative to political patronage in the "Battling Brain Trust". Charges of inefficiency against a party organization got action simply because it feared an electorate which would turn them out. Assignment of jobs, by political organizations, he concluded, was based more on merit in later years, and was improving.[119]

Dr. C. J. Frederich of Harvard stated that spoils did not originate with Jackson, but started in colonial times, and were a cause for the opposition to England in the colonies. Patronage for the poor had usually been jobs, and for the rich, contracts and tariffs. The spoils tradition in political turnovers had caused the people to view a stable government service as "bureaucracy".[120]

G. R. Clapp, Director of Personnel at Tennessee Valley Authority, wanted a personnel administration which would work through and with independent employee unions. One of the most difficult problems of administration, he said, was organizing various functions and duties. Organization must be simple enough for all employees to understand. Bad organization resulted in low morale, and maladjustment. A personnel agency could help organization by classification and definition of jobs. It was T. V. A. policy, he said, to recognize the right of employees to organize without interference. Employee unions were used to help improve all-around

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119 W. Turn, "In Defense of Patronage", Ann. Am. Acad., Jan. 1937, 22-28.

120 C. J. Frederich, "Rise and Decline of the Spoils Tradition," Ann. Am. Acad., Jan. 1937, 14-16.

conditions. A procedure for grievances was set up, and the Personnel Division given the final decision in settling those grievances. A democratic procedure of employee participation in formulation of rules was followed.[121]

Robert L. Johnson, President of the National Civil Service Reform League, believed that there were many unqualified persons in places of responsibility. He cited Edward R. Stettinius of the United States Steel Corporation, and his plan of standard tests for discovering potential executives in business. There was a state and local trend toward civil service, he said, but it was still behind Federal civil service in proportion. The work of the Civil Service Reform League was to help bring action on civil service offenders. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty", and of an efficient merit system, he noted.[122]

Dr. J. K. Pollock, Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan, condemned the waste of billions of dollars through patronage. Patronage was not necessary to political leadership in Britain, he pointed out. He condemned several government employment practices. Breaking in new employees was expensive, and approximately one-fourth were changed every year under the spoils system. Another loss was loose payroll practice and payroll padding. The government

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121 G. R. Clapp, "New Emphasis in Personnel Administration", Ann. Am. Acad., Jan. 1937, 111-118.

122 R. L. Johnson, "Qualified Personnel and Why We Should Have It", Ann. Am. Acad., Jan. 1937, 159-164.

definitely needed a career system to get the cream of trained people.[123]

F. W. Reeves, Professor of Education at the University of Chicago,[124] said there was no such thing as a model merit system. He saw personnel functions increasing and taking in the work of payrolls, attendance records, pensions, personal records, reports, classification, handling appeals from employees and welfare of employees. Personnel administration, he believed, was a function of management and not of the Civil Service Commission.[125]

Dr. J. Pois, of the Staff of Public Administrative Service, Chicago, discussed the advantages of a careful, independent personnel survey.[126]

The personnel problem in new federal agencies was a very difficult one, according to W. W. Emmerich, Executive of the Farm Credit Administration. Many agencies had been set up between 1933 and 1936; speed had been necessary and policy had been controversial. Salary limitation on high executives was a problem. There were too many applicants for jobs in the lower levels. Uniform salaries and proper classification were still not the rule. Recruitment was a principal problem. Tennessee Valley Authority and the Rural Electrification Act

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123 J. K. Pollock, "Cost of the Patronage System", Ann. Am. Acad., Jan. 1937, 29-34.

124 Also a member of the President's staff of the Comm. on Admin. Management.

125 F. W. Reeves, "Essentials of a Model Personnel System", Ann. Am. Acad. Jan. 1937, 134-141.

126 J. Pois, "Personnel Survey", Ann. Am. Acad., Jan. 1937.

were outside civil service and had set up their own personnel service. Experienced administrators were still needed, he said, and were hard to find. There was still too much muddling and duplication in government administration. A point of progress was the use of personnel officers, and a modern method of personnel administration.[127]

Dr. [illegible] Mosher, Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University, said that to rid a government of patronage, legislation and a competent personnel agency were necessary. The personnel agency should control selection, examinations, efficiency ratings, promotions, discipline and removals, classification, salary standardization, and superannuation. Administrative favoritism needed to be eliminated.[128]

Most political scientists, and government administrators were agreed on the necessity of a career service. While still a member of the Commission, Dr. L. D. White noted an increasing interest in government careers. Beginning pay was $1440 to $1620, and in professional positions, $2000. In 1934, Congress had continued what Theodore Roosevelt had started, a career service in foreign service. Another career service was the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture.

An examination was being given for the position of Junior Civil Service Examiner that year. The test was de-

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127 H. [illegible] Emmerich, "Personnel Problems in New Federal Agencies", Ann. Am. Acad. Jan. 1937, 119-126.

128 [illegible] Mosher, "Government without Patronage", Ann. Am. Acad., Jan. 1937, 35-41.

signed to give the nonspecialized college graduate a chance to enter the public service along with specialized students. In 1936, 21,000 had taken the examination. This, Dr. White thought, indicated a turning toward civil service for a career. H. C. Wallace, father of the Secretary of Agriculture of the 1930's, had started a graduate school in the Department of Agriculture for in-service training 15 years before.

Was it worthwhile to prepare for the civil service? Dr. White thought that for the individual who wanted a spectacular career, wide public influence, and much money, the answer was no. But, if the individual would be content with private sources of personal satisfaction, would command patience, would be satisfied with an eventual six or seven thousand dollars a year, the civil service had much to offer.[129]

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[129] L. D. White, "Careers in Government", Scribners Magazine, March, 1937.

CHAPTER III

THE MERIT SYSTEM DURING THE SECOND YEARS OF THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION

President Roosevelt started his second term with a request to Congress for extension of the merit system "upward, outward, and downward". He advocated a reorganized federal personnel system which would have been stronger and more centralized.[1]

In its 1937 report, the Civil Service Commission observed that:

> This year has seen an increasing growth of public interest in the merit system unequaled since the days of the popular movement which culminated in the passage of the Civil Service Act of 1883. This interest has been manifested in news columns and editorials of the press, in activities of non-partisan reform organizations, in studies by progressively larger numbers of young men and women in colleges and universities, in declarations by leaders of all political parties, and in the public opinion polls.[2]

By June 30, 1937, there were 538,073 persons, or 63 percent, of all civil employees of the executive branch subject to civil service competitive requirements. The number of civil employees in the executive branch of the Government had increased two percent since the year before. Eighty-one percent of the employees in the executive branch were men.[3]

In the Postal Service, reform was still slow in coming. The Ramspeck bill, which proposed the placing of postmasters under civil service, was pigeon-holed in the Senate Post Office

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1 Good Government, May, June, 1945.
2 USCSC, 54th Report, 1.
3 USCSC, 54th Report, 8.

Committee due to the opposition of Chairman Senator McKellar of Tennessee. He explained that he had found only three Senators favoring it.[4] Representative J. Ramspeck, Chairman of the House Committee on Civil Service, said he wanted to make a career service out of the Postal Service, and he believed his bill would do it. Representative J. Neal, of New York, and Representative J. Murdock of Arizona looked for an advance and improvement in public service from the bill. The Minority Report of the House Committee on Civil Service said the Ramspeck bill would fail to create a career service in the postal service because politically appointed postmasters were given an advantage in examinations. Democratic Representative Taylor of Tennessee stated that the bill gave the Postmaster General power to make permanent positions for political appointees. Representative J. Shannon, Missouri Democrat from Kansas City, opposed civil service examinations for postmasters because career men were often arrogant and offensive. The National League of Women Voters avowed that the merit system would not be extended enough, and the number of appointees subject to Senate confirmation was increased.[5]

Senator McKellar introduced his own postmaster bill in 1937 "to amend the law relating to appointment of postmasters". He wanted to retain Senate confirmation, the four-year term, and choice of one of three eligibles. The Majority Committee Report

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[4] Good Government, July, August, 1937.
[5] Cong. Digest, Nov. 1937.

favored the McKellar bill, and the Minority Report the Ramspeck bill. President Roosevelt favored the Ramspeck bill.

H. H. Mitchell, President of the Civil Service Commission, hoped for an improvement in the Postal Service merit system. Such action would improve the standing of the entire merit system with the people, he believed. The Civil Service Commission was discredited by many people because of postmaster examinations, he said.

The Minority Report, favoring the Ramspeck bill, pointed out that the Democratic party was obligated by its convention promise to extend the merit system. It also stated that salaries of assistant postmasters, usually under civil service, averaged forty percent less than those of postmasters. This was not fair since assistant postmasters did most of the work in the postoffices.

Senators writing the Civil Service Reform League and promising support were: Senator Berry of Tennessee (colleague of McKellar); Senator Lodge of Massachusetts; Representative Mead of New York and Senator Walsh of Massachusetts. Some Republican leaders opposed the Ramspeck bill because they feared it would put Democratic postmasters in office permanently.[6]

On June 24, 1938, the President issued two executive orders, one modernized the civil service rules; the other sought to classify under the civil service act and rules about 100,000 positions outside the rules.

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[6] Good Government, Nov., Dec., 1937.

On June 25, 1938, the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Postmaster Act[7] was approved by the President. Under the terms of the Act, 14,798 Presidential postmaster positions were brought under the merit system. These positions were to be filled in one of three ways:

1. By reappointment of the incumbent postmaster, after he passed an appropriate noncompetitive examination.

2. By promotion of a classified postal employee in accordance with the provisions of the Civil Service Act and rules.

3. By an open competitive examination for which American citizens resident within the delivery area of the postoffice for one year could apply.

The Civil Service Commission was required by law to certify the names of the three highest eligibles in an open competitive examination on the register to the Post Office Department. One of the three was then appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. Persons appointed as a result of the examinations were to receive appointment without term

The Civil Service Commission believed that the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Postmaster Act was "an important advance in the operation of the merit system". It stated that Presidential postmaster positions would thereafter be filled through civil service procedure and qualified postal employees would thereafter aspire

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[7] Public Law, No. 730.

to promotion to the position of postmaster.[8]

The Civil Service Reform League noted the new postmaster act and stated it would now welcome inclusion of third-class postoffice clerks and deputy collectors of internal revenue.[9]

Newsweek saw two loopholes remaining open to patronage-seekers. They were war veterans preference, and exemptions for certain posts, which were requested by government departments. There were two obstacles to establishing the competitive regime in the executive branch; the Commission's small annual appropriation of $2,500,000 and opposition in Congress.[10]

Written examinations for postmasters under the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Act were developed by the Civil Service Commission. They were of two types. For postmasters who were already in office noncompetitive tests were given stressing the postmaster's knowledge of his duties and his familiarity with post office management. Competitive tests were designed to test a candidate's capacity to render efficient service as a postmaster and his ability to acquire and apply information.[11]

In 1939, the Civil Service Reform League, in its annual meeting, passed a resolution stating that postmaster appointments were still subject to Congressional patronage and the Postmaster General. This was giving the entire civil service system a bad name in the eyes of the public, it said.[12]

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8 USCSC, 55th Report, 6-7. Good Government, May, June, 1945.
9 CSRL League Report, 1938, 1-3.
10 Newsweek, August 1, 1938.
11 USCSC, 56th Report, 22.
12 USCSC, 51st Report, 1939.

On August 2, 1939, President Roosevelt approved the Hatch Act. The bill had been sponsored by Carl A. Hatch, Democrat of New Mexico. It restricted virtually all employees in the executive branch of the Federal civil service from "pernicious political activity". It permitted public expression of political opinions by persons not in the classified civil service. Immediate removal was prescribed as the penalty for violation. The President issued a message to Congress stating it was "in harmony with the policy I have consistently advocated during all my public life; namely, the wider extension of civil service as opposed to its curtailment".[13]

After its passage, a movement was started to place state officials, paid in part by Federal funds, under the provisions of the Hatch Act. Senator Hatch led the movement for prohibiting employees of Social Security Agencies, highway department employees, and similar workers under combined state and Federal employment from engaging in political activity.[14] His new bill forbade political activity for that class of employees. Senator J. H. Bankhead, Democrat of Alabama, argued that the provisions of the bill gave the Civil Service Commission too much power over voters. The Commission, he maintained, could keep a W. P. A. worker "from engaging in any sort of controversy about the election of a member of the legislature of his state".[15]

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13 USCSC, 87th Report, 19. Good Government, May, June, 1945.
14 New York Times, Dec. 12, 1939.
15 Comm. Digest, April, 1940.

On July 19, 1940, the proposed amendment of the Hatch Act of August 2, 1939, became law. It forbade political activity by state and local employees connected with any activity financed in whole or in part by the United States. Only officers holding elective offices, and a few of the highest officials in state and municipal governments were exempted from this provision. Immediate removal was made the penalty for violation. Jurisdiction over violations of the law was entrusted to the Civil Service Commission.[16] The President issued an executive order making changes in civil service rules to conform with the Hatch Act. The rules sought to establish uniformity in regulations, and to facilitate defense activities of the government.[17]

On May 26, 1937, the Commission addressed a special communication to the President complaining that there was an increasing number of bills going into Congress containing provisions for exemption from the merit system. The President forwarded this letter to the Vice President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives along with a statement urging the Congress to place all but policy-forming positions under the merit system.

Nevertheless, in the closing days of the session, Congress enacted the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, which excepted all positions under it which paid in excess of $1988 per annum.

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16 USCC, 57th Report, 19.
17 Civil Government, May, June, 1945.

The Commission noted with concern the tendency in Congress to exempt positions from civil service.[18] In June of 1937, a Senate rider on the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill passed Congress and created more spoils. It barred the use of funds for pay of experts or attorneys receiving $5,000 or more per year until appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Civil Service Reform League had opposed the measure.[19] The Civilian Conservation Corps extension bills and Agricultural bills contained provisions for exemption from civil service.[20]

American Mercury decided in 1937 that the cohesive power of public plunder was all that held the Democrats together. When Garner and Roosevelt came to terms, it declared that "Herod and Pontius Pilate have shaken hands". Public money, it warned, was to be devoted to the good of the party.[21]

R. L. Johnson, President of the Civil Service Reform League, said that the complex problems of government needed explanation to the citizen. Political parties were clouding the issue. The purpose of the League was to fight and publicize the spoils system. It was a "watch dog of the merit system". He complained of the ham-stringing of civil service commissions. Kansas, he said, had had a civil service law since 1930, but had nullified it by failing to legislate funds for its enforcement. The

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18 USCSC, 54th Report, 2.
19 Survey, July, 1937.
20 Good Government, July, Aug., 1937.
21 American Mercury, Sept., 1937.

League sought to convince Congress that the spoils system was no longer good business.[22]

In the fall of 1937, the American Federation of Labor came out for extension of the merit system to all except policy-determining positions.[23]

An article in the American Mercury in October, declared the Works Progress Administration was buying votes. "Nowhere, not even in today's Russia, Germany, or Italy, is there a publicity machine of greater potentialities", it said. W. P. A. press agents were promoting collectivist, and communist literature, it stated.[24]

H. C. Leach, in Forum, warned Congress: "The American people are fed up with many follies. They will no longer send their armies on fantastic errands overseas. And they are sick of political patronage at home. They demand a system that will reward merit."[25]

On July 26, 1937, Congress repealed section 213 of the Economy Act of June 30, 1932. The repealing act provided that no person would be discriminated against in any case because of his or her marital status in examination, appointment, reappointment, reinstatement, reemployment, promotion, transfer, retransfer, demotion, removal or retirement. The law had originally provided that a wife was not eligible for government employment

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22 Good Government, Sept., Oct., 1937.
23 Ibid., Sept., Oct., 1937.
24 G. Carrol, "How the W. P. A. Buys Votes", American Mercury, October, 1937.
25 H. C. Leach, "Warning to Congress", Forum, Nov., 1937.

if her husband already worked for the government. It had been enacted to spread employment during the depression.[26]

President Roosevelt issued two executive orders June 24, 1938. One order, Number 7916 extended the classified status to all positions in the executive civil service not specifically exempted by legislation. The other order, Number 7915, promulgated new civil service rules. It was the first complete revision of the rules since 1903.[27] The Civil Service Reform League decided that:

> The new executive orders issued by President Roosevelt on June 24, 1938, when carried out, will prove to be one of the greatest advances in the extension and improvement of the Federal civil service.

The new orders, it said:

> Do not automatically cover in all present incumbents, as has invariably been the case in the past history of extensions by Presidential order. On the contrary, competitive status is withheld until incumbents shall have qualified for their positions by examination.....as vacancies occur in the future they must be filled after competitive tests.

The new orders would take in over 100,000 positions, and the administration and personnel systems of the government were to be improved. However, over 200,000 positions excepted by Congress were still not affected. Such agencies as F. H. A., W. P. A., R. F. C., H. O. L. C., and T. V. A. were still in the unclassified service. Much distrust of government regulation, the League said, came from the influence of the spoils system.

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26 USCSC, 54th Report, 6-8.
27 USCSC, 55th Report, 3-4.

The Supreme Court had upheld the right of Congress to administer legislation through an agency. It was as J. V. Masters, of the University of Alabama School of Law, had said: "If we do not succeed soon in divorcing our administrative set-up from politics by putting it all under civil service, liberty in this country is doomed".[28]

American Mercury continued its attacks on New Deal Agencies. It counted more than 6,500,000 "at the public trough". To get a Washington job, it said, it was necessary to have and make political connections. It was necessary to call oneself an "expert". According to the American Mercury, propaganda agents and minor executives were getting up to $6800 annually. Some messenger boys were getting $3600 a year. New Deal Agencies, it observed, were filled with ex-bootleggers, touts, pugilists, social workers, incompetents, bell-hops, procurers, aliens, communists, and down-at-the-heel what nots.[29]

Big Jim Farley was the leader of the Democratic faction believing in party politics and patronage. He pointed out that patronage was followed by both parties. He favored patronage, because, as he said, "jobs which closely touched matters of policy should be filled by persons in sympathy with the purposes of the Roosevelt administration, and that was the program we carried out". Dr. A. E. Morgan, director of T. V. A., didn't follow patronage and drew Farley's criticism. However,

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28 WCTU League Report, 1938.
29 D. Layne, "How to Get a Washington Job", American Mercury, May, 1938.

Mr. Farley declared, "Patronage--a patronage alone--is not the only thing that keeps a political party knit together. With time, patience, and hard work, I could construct a major political party in the United States without holding out a single job to deserving partisans." Huey Long had demanded patronage of President Roosevelt, he said, but didn't get it. Mr. Farley concluded that he was "the man who takes the rap for the administration".[30]

Former President H. Hoover spoke at Kansas City, September 20, 1938, on the subject of morals in government. "In six years", he said, "we have lost 40 years of the ground gained by that moral crusade". He saw moral and political dangers in relief measures. "Messrs. Hopkins and Williams have the power in this Republic to say who shall have bread and who shall not", he declared. He attacked devaluation of currency by the Democrats. Civil Service should be extended to all but a few top government positions, he said.[31]

In 1939, President Roosevelt appointed a special Committee on Civil Service Improvement, under the chairmanship of Justice Stanley Reed, to study the possibility of extension of the merit system to higher Federal posts.[32]

The Civil Service Reform League reported that year that the number of United States employees was up 16 per cent in six years, and the total payroll up 25 per cent. It still observed

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30 J. A. Farley, "Patronage and the New Deal", American Magazine. Sept., 1938.

31 H. Hoover, "Morals in Government", Vital Speeches. Oct., 15, 1938.

32 Good Government, May, June, 1945.

the need for improvement in personnel administration. The Hatch law, prohibiting improper political activity, and amendments to the Social Security Act requiring states to use the merit system were noted favorably. It urged Congress to pass the Ramspeck bill which would authorize the President to extend the competitive system and require incumbents to take qualifying examinations. The League thought: "of great constructive significance and importance is the creation of the President's Committee on Civil Service Improvement". Career lawyers, instead of politically appointed federal attorneys were also urged.[33]

The National Defense Program of 1939-1940 increased the size of Federal Civil Service. Great expansion, especially in the War and Navy Departments, meant an increased scope for the national merit system. Responsibility for recruiting, and organization fell upon the Civil Service Commission. Personnel problems of the greatly expanded defense program were its main responsibility.

A statute of great importance in the history of the Federal Civil Service was the Ramspeck Act of November 26, 1940.[34] It authorized the President to extend the scope of the Civil Service Act and Classification Act.[35]

Time magazine labeled the act as a final victory by Robert Ramspeck, over the spoils system.[36] The President had

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33 [illegible] League Report, 1939.
34 Public Law No. [illegible], 76th Congress.
35 [illegible], 68th Report, 5.
36 Cf. Mr. Ramspeck, Time said, "He is 50 years old, looking 35, is a mild, gentle, quiet man who doesn't know when he's licked".

long advocated the measure. He urged now extend the classification act to the field service, and extend the civil service rules to all positions not under the merit system. Positions in T. V. A., W. P. A., assistant United States district attorneyships, and positions subject to Presidential appointment with Senate confirmation were still excepted.[37] National organizations cooperating in 1940 for extension and improvement of the merit system were: National League of Women Voters, Federation of Women's Clubs, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, National Federation of Federal Employees, A. F. L., C. I. O., American Legion, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, National Council of Jewish Women, American Bar Association, National Lawyer's Guild, American Engineering Council, National Consumer's League, and the National Civil Service Reform League. The result of this cooperative effort was the Hatch and Ramspeck laws.

The Social Security Board was commended for its thorough and tactful work in obtaining full compliance with the intent of the legislation of 1939. Every state which accepted Federal grants-in-aid of public welfare was required to meet sound merit system standards of employment. Twenty-three states, the League reported, would act on new merit system legislation in 1941.

Senator C. Hatch, and Representative J. Dempsey were commended for their successful efforts to pass acts restricting political activity. Representative R. Ramspeck of Georgia

[37] Good Government, May, June 1945.

and Senator J. Mead of New York were commended by the League for getting extension legislation on civil service rules. The Civil Service Reform League summed up the issue in 1940 by pointing out that as a republic we had undertaken by democratic means to provide overall social security. Public administration needed to be made competent. Therefore, the merit system was a public necessity. President Roosevelt had said: "Well-selected, well-trained, well-supervised personnel with opportunity to advance in the service on a basis of merit is the key to effective government administration." Presidential-candidate Wendell Wilkie saw the need in a democracy for an efficient civil service. Senator Robert Taft, of Ohio, declared: "From the point of view of parties and candidates for office, proper civil service laws are a protection instead of a hindrance. They are essential to assure a government which is even reasonably honest and efficient." H. C. Hoover announced that, "Appointive office, north, south, east and west, must be based solely on merit, character, and reputation....."[38]

The personnel system and organization of Federal civil service was strengthened and made more efficient in Roosevelt's second term. In-service training facilities were developed. A junior civil service examiner position was created to attract prospective career administrators.[39] The Council of Personnel Administration made a special study of personnel problems. The

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38 [illegible] League Report, 1940.

39 L. D. White, op. cit., "F. D. R. and the Public Service".

Council was composed of the heads of personnel administration in the various agencies.[40]

Dr. A. J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, discussed personnel problems in the January, 1937, Annals of the American Academy of Political Science. He said the objectives of personnel administration were efficiency and better adjustment of the individual worker. The most important activity in an expanding agency was recruitment. Promotion problems were complicated and took time and an intelligent approach to solve. Removal was sometimes practically impossible, and was unfair if the employees were old. Training was needed to reduce the costs of "breaking in". On-the-job training should be continued. Dr. Altmeyer noted that the administration of social legislation was often the chief point of criticism rather than the legislation itself. He declared that well trained personnel workers were needed to assure good social legislation administration.[41]

According to Good Government bulletin, some civil servants in 1937 were following the motto: "Nothing will happen to me for what I do not do." Some officials would "dance in a whirl of red tape and pass the buck." The problem of a public administrator was to make decisions which were matters of opinion; if he didn't act quickly, he was unwinding red tape. If he did act, he was an arbitrary bureaucrat. Dr. Leonard D. White proposed an administrative core of about 2500 of the 800,000

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40 USCSC, 54th Report, 23.
41 A. J. Altmeyer, "Scope of Department Personnel Activities", Ann. Am. Acad., Jan. 1937, 188-191.

in civil service. He wanted an average of 100 administrators a year to be replaced by men from the ranks and not from seniority alone. Young university graduates would be recruited directly into administrative apprenticeship. Dr. C. E. Merriam objected to the recruitment of young administrators from universities. This would not be fair to the whole service, and the graduates would not have sufficient experience, he believed.[42]

The Civil Service Reform League favored the plan of the Committee on Administrative Management for a single civil service administrator. It advocated a rules committee to relieve the administrator in determining policy, appeals, and rules. The administrator should be appointed after a competitive examination, it said.[43]

The President was aware of the need for personnel administration reform. On June 3, 1937, he protested to the Chairman of the House and Senate Civil Service Committees that there had been "more than 70 bills introduced in this session which propose complete exemption for all positions affected thereby.... Please let me urge upon the Congress the desirability of placing all but policy-forming positions under the merit system."[44]

By February, 1938,[45] there were 130 colleges offering courses in public administration. Three-fourths of these courses were added in the ten years previous to 1938.

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42 Good Government, March, April, 1937.
43 Ibid., July, August, 1937.
44 L. D. Leach, "Warning to Congress", Forum, Nov., 1937.
45 New York Times, Feb. 6, 1938.

The Civil Service Reform League believed "that the just and impartial operation of administrative boards and commissions may best be secured by rigid application of the merit principle in the selection of the personnel of such boards and their employees."[46]

President Roosevelt's executive orders of June 24, 1938, rewrote the civil service rules and provided authority for effective administration both in the process of selection and in the processes of management.[47] The Commission heralded the Presidential orders as a landmark in Federal personnel progress.

Civil employees in the executive branch of the Government totaled 851,986 on June 30, 1938. There was an increase of 30,826 employees in classified positions and a decrease of 20,374 in nonclassified positions during the year. Employment of aliens was forbidden by Congress that year. Veteran preference appointments of peace-time veterans totaled 27 per cent of all veteran preference appointments in 1937. None of these appointees had been over seventeen years of age in 1918.

The President also established departmental personnel management divisions and a Council of Personnel Administration to coordinate the personnel programs of the departmental divisions.[48]

The Reorganization Act of April 3, 1939, affected both classified and unclassified employees. The President was given

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46 USCSR League Report, 1938.
47 USCSC, 55th Report.
48 Civil Government, May, June, 1945.

the power to consolidate and transfer bureaus and agencies in the interest of better operating efficiency. Congress retained a veto power over the proposals of the President under this act. In April and May, 1939, Reorganization Plans One and Two were transmitted by the President to Congress and accepted. Various transfers and consolidations were then made in the executive department.[49]

Nearly one in four of all appointees to the classified service in 1939 had been granted veteran preference and received augmented ratings of 5 to 10 points on their earned examination ratings. The Commission noted that six per cent of the total number of appointments to the classified service was received by veterans who were below enlistment age at the close of the World War in 1918.

In-service training, and competitive promotions received increased emphasis from the Commission in 1938 and 1939. Retirement legislation[50] gave an option of a reduced annuity carrying with it a continuing benefit after death to a duly designated beneficiary. Retirement status was given to all classified postmasters in the same act.

The rearmament program helped the number of civil employees in the executive branch of the Government reach an all-time high of 920,310 persons on June 30, 1939. The Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Act and Executive Order of June 24, 1938, increased the number of persons in competitive classified service from

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49 USCSC, 56th Report, 8.
50 Public Law 263, 76th Congress.

86.1 per cent in 1938 to 87.7 per cent in 1939. There were about 22,000 different job titles under Federal civil service. It was probable that some of the titles represented duplications, however.[51]

The Civil Service Reform League, in 1939, hoped for inclusion of attorneys exempt from civil service rules. It stated that the executive order establishing departmental personnel divisions in charge of personnel experts under the merit system would aid the Commission and improve administration.[52]

In 1940, the National Defense Program was creating new personnel problems. Recruiting, testing, investigations, sabotage-prevention, and classification took special attention from the Civil Service Commission. There were approximately 240,000 positions in defense agencies to be filled by merit system methods.

The Hatch Act of July 19, 1940, forbade political activity to certain state and local employees connected with the Federal government. Membership in a Fascist, Nazi, or Communist organization was cause for immediate removal from the service.

The work of the Council of Personnel Administration was continued into 1940. According to the Commission, it had advised and assisted the President and the Commission in the protection and improvement of the merit system. It recommended

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51 USCSC, 56th Report.
52 [illegible] League Report, 1939.

needed changes in personnel regulations and procedure, and served generally as an instrument for raising the standards of personnel administration among the departments and agencies of the Federal Government. Since the creation of the Council, the Commission believes, there had been a real coordination upon the personnel problem. It also helped with problems of national defense. The need for employee training was given increasing recognition.

As a result of increases under the national defense program, civil employment in the executive branch of the United States Government exceeded one million during the last half of June 1, 1940, for the first time in the history of the country. The increase during the fiscal year was 82,510 or a rise of nine per cent. Over the same period of time employees in classified positions increased 16.7 per cent. The number of persons occupying unclassified positions declined 7.2 per cent. The rise in the proportion of the classified service was due mainly to the executive orders of June 24, 1938, and the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Postmaster Act.

A National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel was begun in 1940. It provided an index of the qualifications of nearly half a million scientists and professional business men in private industry. A similar register in Great Britain had proved of especial value to that country during its war of 1939 and 1940.[53]

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[53] USCSC, 57th Report.

The Civil Service Reform League noted several examples of better personnel administration in 1940. They were: positive recruiting, decentralization to speed up selection and placement, liaison between the Civil Service Commission and operating agencies, machine scoring, selective certification, supervisory training, performance rating, morale building, operation audits, welfare and grievance procedures, and advanced personnel management practices.[54]

Major F. H. LaGuardia, of New York City, in an address, urged Harvard graduates to go into government service that year. He said, "Going into government doesn't mean going into politics. The country can't stand government by politicians. We need government by specialists."[55]

The National Civil Service Reform League announced its campaign to place public administration on a natural level of equality with the three other major organs of democracy.[56]

On November 26, 1940, the Ramspeck Act[57] became law and authorized the President to extend the scope of both the Civil Service Act and the Classification Act. In April, 1941, the President issued an executive order representing the greatest extension of civil service rules ever made. Although Congress later reduced the number, the order affected 182,000 positions.[58] The President's Committee on Civil Service Improvement

54 USCSR League Report, 1940.
55 New York Times, April 12, 1940.
56 E. Dawson, "Program for Nation-Wide Campaign," Am. Polit. Science Review, June, 1940.
57 Public Law, 880, 76th Congress.
58 Good Government, May, June, 1945.

had recommended the inclusion within the classified competitive service of virtually all the positions which had been temporarily withheld from classification.

Monthly Labor Review published its study of Federal employment in January, 1941.[59] The Federal government, it noted, was the largest single employer, and offered the widest variety of occupations - 25,000 in all. The average civil servant's age in 1938 was 40.8 years. His average pay was $1192, if he was an unskilled worker. Professional and scientific workers received an average of $3,137 per year. The average pay of all civilian employees was $1871.

H. W. Marsh, of the Civil Service Reform League, and L. E. Hosch, of the American Public Welfare Association, observed that the first year of the merit system in the social security program had been hectic, but the net results were in the line of progress. It said that using the services of outstanding citizens or professional and business men and women for examining boards was good practice. Merit system supervisors usually came from the academic field.[60]

The issue of Federal employees' unions in Roosevelt's second administration should be noted. When he was governor of New York in 1931, Roosevelt spoke to a group of state civil service employees; he reminded them that he had helped organize the National Federation of Federal Employees, and was one of its original members. He was still a member, he said, and

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59 A. L. Smith, K. F. Wright, "Occupations and Salaries in Federal Employment," Monthly Labor Review, Jan., 1941.

60 L. E. Hosch, H. W. Marsh, "The Merit System's First Year," Survey, Jan., 1941.

"proud of it". "I say to you frankly and freely, that I hope you will continue to organize, always holding fast to your ideals and insisting upon intelligent leadership." In the same speech, he endorsed the concept of government as a model employer.

In 1937, President Roosevelt stated his views on civil service unions more formally in a letter to Luther C. Steward, President of the National Federation of Federal Employees. He wrote:

> .....organizations of government employees have a logical place in government affairs.

Later he wrote:

> All government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service .....The employer is the whole people, who speak by means of laws enacted by their representatives in Congress....a strike of public employees manifests nothing less than an intent on their part to prevent or obstruct the operations of government until their demands are satisfied. Such action is unthinkable and intolerable. It is therefore, with a feeling of gratification, that I have noted in the constitution of the National Federation of Federal Employees the provision that "under no circumstances shall this Federation engage in or support strikes against the United States Government".[61]

The President received some criticism for his statement that Federal workers could organize, but couldn't strike against the government. One argument was that "Uncle Sam" wasn't a privileged boss, and his employees should have the same rights as privately owned public utility workers. A need for machinery to curb the power of public authorities to inter-

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[61] The Public Papers and Addresses of F. D. R., VI (1941) p. 324-326; L. D. White, "F. Roosevelt, and the Pub. Service," Pub. Personnel Review, July, 1945.

fere with free organisation of employees was expressed in some quarters.[62] Another argument was that the right of government employees to demand collective bargaining was limited. Government workers would have to take their grievances to legislative bodies instead of administrative agencies who had little authority.[63] The right of government employees to strike received increasing discussion the latter part of Roosevelt's second term of office.

Several changes occurred in the Civil Service Commission in the period 1937 to 1941. Dr. Leonard D. White, who had served with distinction, resigned in June, 1937, to return to the University of Chicago. Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., a practicing attorney of New York City, succeeded Dr. White. Mr. Ordway resigned from the position June, 1939. Arthur S. Flemming, Director of Public Affairs of American University, succeeded Mr. Ordway.[64] The work and responsibility of the Commission was greatly increased by the civil service extension acts and the program of national defense.

The number of Federal personnel outside national defense increased four per cent in 1940. The following services were expanded: general government, law enforcement, regulatory service, labor and industrial relations, health, postal service, public service, and education. Personnel numbers were re-

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62 S. D. Spero, S. P. Puner, "Uncle Sam, Privileged Boss," N. Y. Nation, Jan. [illegible], 1938.

63 I. B. Patten, Dept. of Commission on Civil Service, U. S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin, 1938.

64 [illegible], 54th Report, 24; [illegible], 56th Report, 68.

duced in public works, Indian service, agriculture, welfare, industrial and commercial development, and conservation. The number of civilian defense employees increased 86 per cent.[65]

Much can and will be said of President Roosevelt's civil service administration from a partisan or non-partisan standpoint. Dr. Leonard D. White, of the University of Chicago, who served for a time on the Civil Service Commission, was impressed with his knowledge of principle and detail. Nothing in civil service, Dr. White said, seemed unfamiliar to him. Roosevelt had gained this competence from his experience and contact with the system in his four years as Governor of New York. According to Dr. White, he wanted intelligent and responsible public service. He rejected the theory of automatically beneficial consequences of the completely free play of economic and social forces. He was ready to ask the government to intervene where non-intervention meant obvious social distress and human loss.

Dr. White said that Franklin Roosevelt would be remembered in history as a supreme politician, and as a great democratic leader in peace and war, who mobilized the enormous potential of the United States in a national attack on depression, and a global assault against tyranny. He lacked some qualities which make for great administrative achievement, or he sacrificed administrative goals for greater policy objectives. He played for high political stakes, often against desperate

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65 K. A. Murphy and M. E. Gordon, "Federal Personnel by Types of Work Performed," Monthly Labor Review, June, 1941.

opposition. Large administrative reforms were accomplished by Roosevelt. The Executive Office of the President was reorganized. It permitted easy expansion of defense and war civilian agencies, and was an asset in the crisis years. The civil service system drew inspiration and support from Roosevelt. Dr. White stated that the President had helped secure a new civil service legislation, showed a sympathetic understanding of its current problems; gave friendly criticism, and a dynamic drive for basic improvement.[66]

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66 L. D. White, "F. Roosevelt and the Public Service," Pub. Personnel Review, July, 1945. Vol. 6, No. 3, p. 135-136.

Table 2. Civil employment in the executive branch of the United States Government, 1933-1940.*

Year	Number employed
1933	572,091
1934	673,095
1935	719,440
1936	824,259
1937	841,664
1938	851,926
1939	920,310
1940	1,002,820

* U.S.C.C., 57th Report, 1937, 1940.

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